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ABSTRACT

The first part of this report contains a case study from each of the eight southern states participating in a late 1970s project which focused primarily on the organization of rural counties for making decisions that affect the well-being of county residents. In the second section, the study counties (identified as low income in 1950) are placed in two groups to facilitate comparison of whether there appears to be a consistent set of circumstances responsible for movement of counties out of the lowest quintile based on per capita income. The "Case Study Commentary" makes it clear that there have been very substantial changes in the counties--they have generally shared in the national trend away from employment in agriculture, they have shared in the very substantial increase in income even though they still trail national averages substantially, formal education has improved markedly, and jobs held require higher skill levels. The "Commentary" indicates that while much of what has happened in the study counties has been due to accidents of history and geography over which the present population has little control, in each of the counties there is clear evidence that some of the developments are the result of local initiative. (BRR)

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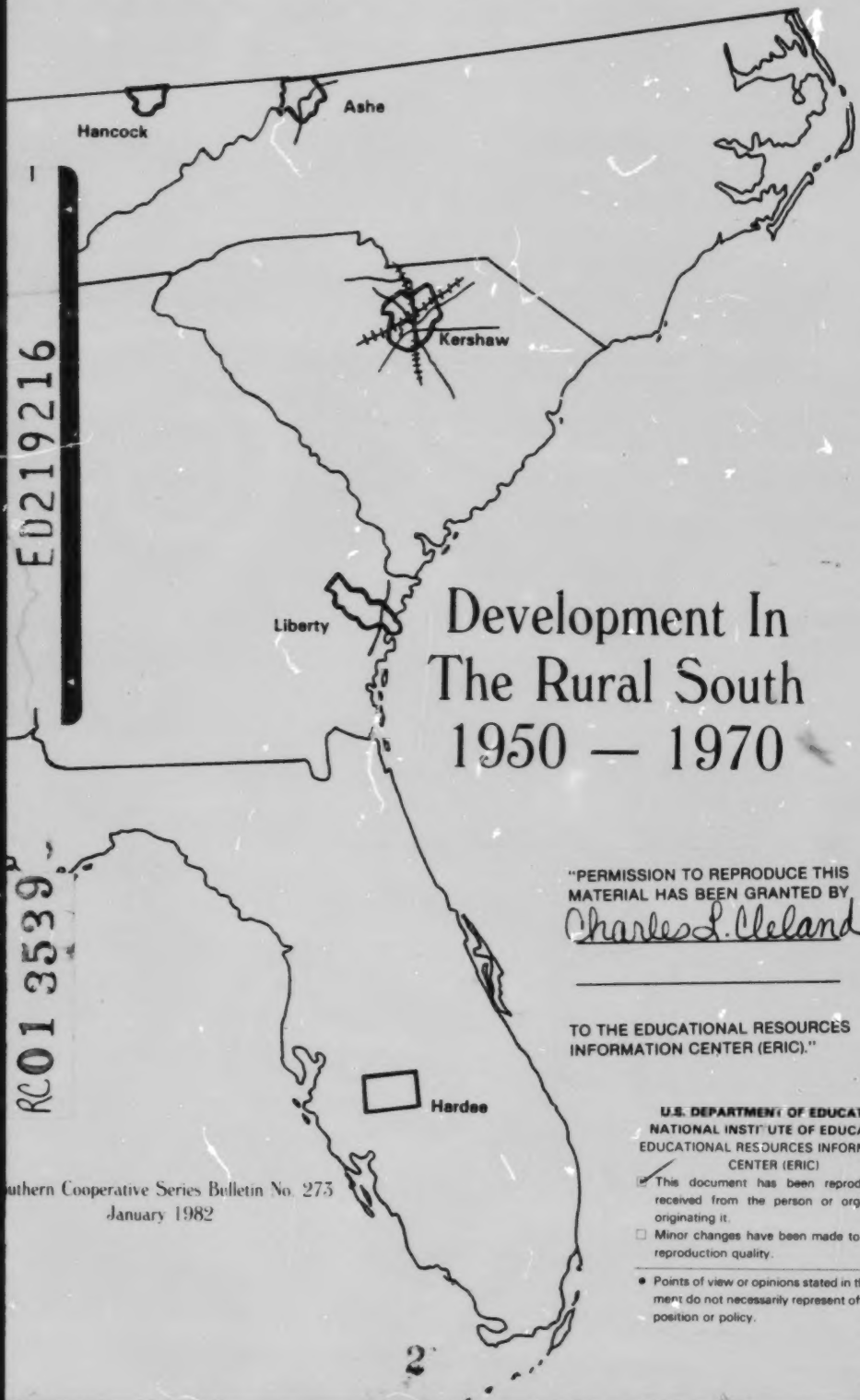

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uthern Cooperative Series Bulletin No. 273
January 1982

DEVELOPMENT IN THE RURAL SOUTH, 1950-1970

County Case Studies from Eight States

Edited by
Charles L. Cleland
University of Tennessee
Knoxville

Southern Cooperative Series Bulletin No. 273

FOREWORD

Like others in the Cooperative Series of the Southern Regional Association of State Agricultural Experiment Stations, Bulletin #273 is in effect a separate publication issued by each of the cooperating stations. As such, it may be mailed under the frank and indicia of each of the stations listed below. Since the bulletin is identical for all stations, requests for copies originating within the cooperating states should be made to the appropriate state Agricultural Experiment Station director. Requests from other states should be sent to the Dean of the Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee 37901.

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PREFACE

This bulletin is one of several publications stemming from data collected in Regional Research Project S-120, "Social Organization for Development of Low Income Counties." A central focus of this project was to obtain, analyze, and organize social and economic data from secondary and primary sources that will be useful to leaders in rural areas of the South in pursuing the goals of rural development. This bulletin is one of three which were sponsored by the Technical Committee of Regional Research Project S-120.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

This report comes from a regional study of rural counties that were low income in 1950 according to data reported in the census. The experience of the counties has varied greatly since that date and some of those included in this study have had very substantial economic success while others have remained at the bottom of the economic heap. The current regional study is a successor to previous studies of many of these same counties. All of these studies have been attempting to provide a better understanding of the situations of people living in low-income rural areas with the hope that ways could be found to help them improve their living conditions. The earlier studies focused on the families and the individuals of which they were composed and their adjustments to the circumstances in which they found themselves. The present study focuses primarily on the organization of the county for making decisions that affect the well-being of the county residents with attention also being given to the nonorganizational aspects of the county situation.

The first part of this report contains a case study from each of the states participating in the project. These case studies, alphabetically ordered, are intrinsically interesting in their own right, but they are included here to illustrate the variety of circumstances which exist in low-income rural counties. From them similarities and differences can be seen which will permit the identification of those combinations of characteristics and circumstances which appear to promote or impede development in low-income counties. The descriptions are in sufficient detail to permit the residents and leaders of other counties in the region to compare their situations with one or more of the study counties and to assess the rate of their own development.

Included in the case studies are indications of the county history, the physical setting, recent major developments and an economic profile, along with an indication of the leadership structure of the county. The material for the case studies came from various historical documents, census sources, local news sources and a survey of the local leaders. The census data for the years 1950 through 1970 are included in the Appendix tables. The leaders interviewed were identified using a modified "snowball" technique in which one or two positional leaders were selected and asked to name others in the county who were influential in making county level decisions on economic or health related developments. Those named as influentials were also asked to name those they felt were influential with the process continuing until there were virtually no new names appearing. Those who were named by at least three others were then interviewed concerning their involvement and contacts in the decision-making process. There is

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some indication of the positions of those identified by this process, but the examination of the leadership structures as such has been done in the companion bulletin edited by Deseran and Black.[1]

In the second section of this bulletin the study counties have been placed into two groups to facilitate comparison. The basis for the grouping is the consistency with which the counties have stayed in the lowest quintile of the nation's nonmetropolitan counties based on per capita income since 1950.[2] The Persistent Low Income group (PLI hereafter) consists of three counties which were in the lowest quintile for the entire period and one which was out of it only in 1975. The non-PLI counties were out of the bottom quintile at least once before 1975. While there may be some question about the accuracy of the self-reported income upon which the per capita figures are based, there is a problem in finding more accurate and reliable figures to represent relative economic well-being.

This grouping of the counties provides an opportunity to determine whether or not there appears to be a consistent set of circumstances responsible for the movement of counties out of the lowest quintile based on per capita income. While the numbers are too small to permit generalization of any findings, they could provide tentative explanations for the change or lack of change for counties that are similarly situated.

It should be made clear that the counties included in the case study section of this report are not intended to be representative of the low-income counties of the region. They were selected from such a representative sample which had been used in previous studies, but the present selection was purposive rather than random. The first selection criterion was that there be one county from each of the states participating in the regional project. The second criterion was maximizing the variety of county situations taking into account county size (population and area), economic base (agriculture vs. nonagriculture), degree of physical isolation and percent nonwhite. The counties selected were as follows: Ashe (North Carolina), Clarke (Alabama), East Feliciana (Louisiana), Hancock (Tennessee), Hardee (Florida), Kershaw (South Carolina), Lawrence (Arkansas) and Liberty (Georgia).

A number of the selected counties represent several of the characteristics, but they were selected on the basis of one primarily. Kershaw (South Carolina), for example, was selected as one with little problem of physical isolation, but it also happens to be the one county which has not had a history of being low-income. Liberty (Georgia) was chosen for its nonagricultural economic base, but it also is unique in its having a large part of the land historically owned by blacks and has experienced a very substan-

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[1]Deseran, Forrest A., and Lisa Black, Editors, *Organizations, Networks, and Local Development in Rural Counties in the South.* Southern Cooperative Series Bulletin No. 257, 1981.

[2]Davis, Thomas F., *Persistent Low-Income Counties in Nonmetro America.* Rural Development Report No. 12, USDA, ESCS, p. 3.

tial in-migration since 1950.

Hancock (Tennessee) is the most isolated, and it also happens to be small and completely rural by census definition. Ashe (North Carolina) was chosen primarily for its smallness; but its proportion in poverty in 1970 was relatively low, and it has experienced a significant shift to manufacturing, principally furniture. East Feliciana (Louisiana) represents the high proportion nonwhite and is not otherwise particularly distinctive. Lawrence (Arkansas) represents the low proportion nonwhite with a strong agricultural economic base as well. Hardee County (Florida) represents the agricultural economic base because this base has been strengthened in recent years. That leaves Clarke (Alabama) to represent the large (land area) county with a relatively urbanized population which also happens to have a great share of the county covered by timber.

ASHE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

by James O. Rash, Jr., Glenn C. McCann, and
M. Gaston Farr*

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

County Inception

The first inhabitants of Ashe County were the Cherokees, Shawnees, and Creeks. In 1752, the first white men entered this section of the Appalachian Mountains when a band of Moravians led by Bishop Spangenburg came to Ashe in search of a site for a permanent settlement. The Moravians, however, did not remain in this area.

In 1771, the first permanent settlers came to Ashe County from Virginia and built cabins near Helton Creek. The leader of this band of pioneers had visited the area on a hunting trip in 1770.

Ashe County was originally part of Anson County. Later it was included with Rowan, then Surry, and finally Wilkes. The North Carolina General Assembly, in 1799, created Ashe from the area of Wilkes County that existed atop the Blue Ridge Mountains. The county was named in honor of Samuel Ashe, a Revolutionary War patriot and governor of North Carolina. The county seat was established in 1803 as Jeffersonton; however, in 1825, the General Assembly shortened the name to Jefferson. The present boundaries of Ashe County were fixed in 1849. It includes an area of 1,106 square kilometers.

Major Changes Since Creation

Ashe County was originally referred to as the Lost Province. However, the name no longer adequately describes the county because Ashe has experienced many changes since its inception.

The county's location and topography have caused the area to be relatively isolated. For example, the county citizens were hardly involved in the Civil War except for a small number of men who joined the South's military forces.

The land and weather have created many hardships; therefore, individual families often found it necessary to rely on neighbors for help and assistance. Down through the generations, Ashe County's severe weather and rugged terrain have led to a strong interdependency of families and neighbors. This has resulted in strong local ties. The emphasis on community and neighborhood is suggested by the number of post offices and churches that existed in Ashe. For instance, in 1899, the county had 68 post offices which allowed practically every community to remain a separate unit.

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At that time most of the communities were centered around the local church. Even in 1976, Ashe County had one church for every 148 people, although the number of post offices had decreased to five.

During the 1800's, a trip to adjacent Wilkes County would take the typical Ashe County farmer several days by wagon over rugged mountain terrain. Today, with a fairly adequate road system, county residents have relatively easy access to Virginia, Tennessee, and the neighboring North Carolina counties. Also, the county has moved from a total agricultural economy to a more diverse economy in which a large proportion of the labor force is employed by industry.

Topography and Geography

In an account of the first recorded visit to Ashe County, the winter weather was a topic of concern. Bishop Spangenburg and his men entered Ashe in December and experienced a severe winter storm. In his diary the Bishop recorded these desperate words ". . . water froze by the fire. Then our men lost heart!"

The average year-round temperature is 14.4° Celsius with an average of 0° Celsius in January, and 20° Celsius in July. The county annually receives an average of 122 centimeters of rain and 36 centimeters of snow. Most residents of the county would probably describe the climate as ideal. However, the growing season is much shorter than in neighboring Wilkes County. For example, the crops that require transplanting are often started in Wilkes and transferred to Ashe after the danger of frost has passed.

The mean elevation of the county is 922 meters above sea level. Forest land accounts for 53 percent of the county while 21 percent is used for pasture. An additional 18 percent is used for cropland. Only 4 percent of the county can be classified as urban or built-up.

Land involved in agricultural production is declining. For instance, in 1950, 80 percent of the county's land was in farms. By 1969, the percentage had dropped to 63. This 19-year period was accompanied by a 22 percent decrease of land in farm production. During a similar time span, the urban and built-up land increased by 185 percent.

Demographic Sketch

Ashe County experienced a gradual decline in population from 1950 to 1970 (Table 1). Many of the county leaders attribute the decrease to a lack of employment opportunities. Almost half of the high school graduates go on to college, but few return to Ashe since only a small number of jobs in agriculture and industry require extensive training. The population estimates for 1970 to 1975 show a net increase of 2.7 percent. This is the first positive change Ashe County has experienced in population since before 1940.

The county has three incorporated towns, each with a population of less than 1,000. The county's rural farm population has drastically declined

since 1950. The present rural farm population is less than one-third of the 1950 farm population. However, from 1950 to 1970 the rural nonfarm population has tripled (Table 1).

In 1970, 22 percent of the males and 29 percent of the females, age 25 and over, were high school graduates. The median years of school completed by males in 1950 was 7.1 and 8.2 in 1970. Females over age 25 had completed 7.3 years of school in 1950 and 9.3 in 1970.

MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS

The Ashe Chamber of Commerce reports that before 1950 the county had six small industrial firms which employed 220 people. By 1971, eight new industries which employed 2,350 additional people were established. Employment in industry increased by 53 percent from 1960 to 1970. The largest employment change came in the provision of services which increased by 178 percent.

The major developments in Ashe County between 1956 and 1978 included the establishment and/or expansion of a number of plants which were involved in the manufacture of garments, furniture and electrical equipment. A copper mine opened and closed during the period. The organization of the Chamber of Commerce took place in 1965. The county hospital was completed, as was a new library, and the goal of establishing an airport was realized after years of effort.

The leadership of Ashe County was very active in recruiting industry during the 1970's. The airport establishment was part of this effort. The airport began limited operations in 1977 and is now used almost daily by local industry personnel.[3]

The County Commission and Chamber of Commerce in 1972 developed a plan for a county-wide water system. The proposed system was first to serve the towns of Jefferson and West Jefferson and then be extended to surrounding communities on demand. The county leaders saw this system as essential for the county's industrial development. The voters rejected the proposed water system in 1975, apparently believing the opponent's arguments that the system would benefit only the towns, while the cost would be borne by the entire county.

A third major attempt at economic development is currently in the planning stages. The county, in 1978, applied to the Economic Development Administration for funds to implement the study and site selection phase for an industrial park. The county plans include a 50-acre site which would allow the county to recruit several industries.

In 1977, 21 county positional leaders and influentials were asked to list some of the most significant developments affecting the county since 1975. The county airport was the most frequently mentioned development with

[3]Rash, James O., Jr., and Glenn C. McCann, *The Ashe County Airport: A Case Study of a Development Event*. Progress Report Soc. 70, 1979, North Carolina State University School of Agriculture and Life Sciences, Raleigh.

new industrial firms, the production of Christmas trees and plans for an industrial park following. Other developments mentioned included some negative events such as the termination of rail service to the county, the failure of the New River Dam Project, the decline of widespread agriculture and voter rejection of a water system bond issue. Finally, it was noted that there has been some improvement in specific areas of agricultural production (cattle, tobacco and apples) and that the recreation area on the New River was also making a contribution.

ECONOMIC PROFILE

Ashe County has primarily relied on agriculture for its main source of income. The county is well known for its quality burley tobacco, Christmas trees, and feeder steers. The typical farm family no longer raises several cash crops. This allows the family members to seek other jobs, yet have enough spare time to raise cattle or tend a cash crop such as Christmas trees. In 1950, 63 percent of the work force was involved in agriculture, but by 1970 only 12 percent of the work force was so employed. The trend has been toward manufacturing. For instance, in 1950, only 14 percent of the labor force worked as craftsmen or operatives. This type of employment increased to 58 percent by 1970. Table 8 in the appendix contains the proportion of the work force by occupational group for 1950 and 1970 and documents the shift from farming to industry.

In 1978 there were six industrial firms that employed more than 100 workers in the county. These included Sprague Electric (850), Phenix Chair Company (625), Jefferson Apparel (500), Hanes, Inc. (414), Southern Services (375), and Jefferson Wood Products (110). Six other firms employed 12 or more persons.

Although Ashe has acquired several industries since 1950, not all the local citizens are able to work in the county. The Employment Security Commission indicates that over 1,250 individuals leave the county daily to work elsewhere. Between 1960 and 1970 the percentage of those working outside the county increased from 8.4 percent to 16.2 percent. The unemployment figure for Ashe has averaged about 5.5 percent during the winter months for the last several years and about 3.0 percent during the spring and summer.

Along with industrial growth, the median family income has increased considerably. The median family income in 1950 was $981; $2,276 in 1960; and $5,241 in 1970. The county's **per capita** personal income ranked 91st out of the state's 100 counties in 1975. Also in 1970, 27.8 percent of the families in Ashe had an income less than the poverty level. This is compared to 16.3 percent for all families in the state.

LOCAL PERCEPTIONS OF THE COUNTY AT PRESENT

During the summer of 1977, 38 influential leaders in Ashe County were interviewed concerning their involvement in various development events

and their development contacts with other individuals. These interviews also included questions on the respondent's perception of the county.

Concerning what they liked best about Ashe County, the leaders' responses could be grouped into five categories. Most frequently the responses dealt with "relationships and attitudes." A large number of these responses referred to the people of Ashe County, e.g., the "people are generous and cooperative," "people are independent and honest," "Ashe County people care for one another," etc.

The next most frequent set of responses dealt with geography and climate. Many respondents mentioned the "ideal climate" with its "very distinct seasons." Others mentioned the "beautiful mountain scenery" and "opportunities for outdoor recreation."

The third category had to do with the general "quality of life." Typical responses in this area include the "rural setting and atmosphere," "easy life style," and the county is "a good place to raise a family in peace." The other two categories had to do with emotional ties to the area and relatives and to economic matters.

A majority of the 38 respondents mentioned economics as the greatest problem currently facing the county. Many of the responses in the economic area dealt with industrial expansion and diversification. Although Ashe has experienced a great deal of industrial growth since 1950, there is still a need to add jobs and stimulate growth to enable the county to keep pace with the nation.

The second most important need is education. Many respondents indicated that the county needed to improve the existing school facilities and curriculum. Some of the respondents suggested that the county should provide "more extensive vocational training for the students who desire not to go to college."

A third need area concerns transportation. The main response in this category deals with the need to improve the road system in Ashe County. Some respondents indicate that "with improved roads, the county has a much better chance in attracting industry."

The fourth area of concern deals with community services, e.g., health, social and public services. The services offered by the county are important in an industry's decision to locate in the county.

The Leadership Structure

Around the turn of the century, power was vested in the hands of only a few families in Ashe County. These families remained in control of county affairs until mid-century. Prior to the 1950's, only furniture industries were located in the county; at least one such industry was owned by a very prominent family. This family evidently was quite successful in keeping other industries out of the county. This provided a ready and cheap labor supply. However, things began to change when the first nonlocally-owned industry started operations in the county.

Today, influence in county affairs is no longer concentrated in any family or a few selected individuals. However, the political leadership in the county is sharply divided along party lines. The ratio of Democrats to Republicans is roughly two to one. Therefore, this easily allows one party to maintain control over the various elected offices. The situation does not, however, stifle political opposition.

Some of the respondents did mention the political area in conjunction with county needs and problems. One such response was a plea for more "bipartisan contact." Another explained that the "county government has settled into a pattern of party affiliation and many qualified people refuse to get involved."

The S-120 interviewers sought information on both general development areas and specific issues. The general area of economic development can be seen as representative of the overall county structure, especially since the county is oriented toward growth and development.

The respondents (N = 38) were asked to name and rank the three most important individuals in the area of economic development. A summary rank score was used as a measure of individual influence as perceived by the respondents. The business and economic sector had the largest number of individuals ranked among the top 10. Six individuals are involved with the business sector, e.g., three of these own and operate businesses based in the county, the other three individuals manage nonlocal-based firms. The county government sector is represented by three individuals. Finally, the Chamber of Commerce is included with one member.

The director of a nonlocal firm and the county manager are tied for the highest rank score in influencing economic development. The third spot is occupied by the editor-publisher of the local newspaper. The fourth spot goes to a director of area development for a firm which is located outside the county. This individual has important contacts concerning new industry. The fifth, sixth, and seventh spots are all occupied by local businessmen. The eighth spot is held by the director of the County Chamber of Commerce, and two county commissioners account for nine and ten.

These leaders, plus many others, are concerned with the development of the county. This interest is manifested in the recent efforts to develop the airport, a county water system, and an industrial park. Not all of these developments have occurred as planned. However, this has not discouraged the enthusiasm and optimism of the people in Ashe County as they seek development and a higher standard of living.

CLARKE COUNTY, ALABAMA

by Calvin Vanlandingham*

HISTORY

Clarke County was established by the Mississippi Territory Legislature in December, 1812. Alabama was different from the other states where the pressure for statehood came from the East - the seaboard states - while Alabama's pressure for statehood came from the West - Mississippi. It seems that the English crown was interested in limiting movement westward as it felt that the American Indians were poorly treated by the colonists. The English government felt it was a better friend to the Indians than were the American colonists.

Clarke County was named for General John Clarke, of Georgia, a noted roustabout in Georgia politics in those colonial days. The enabling act for the county did not name a county seat, and for several years courts were held in various private homes, mainly around old Fort Landrum near the present community known as Winn. This continued until about 1818 when a committee selected a site some eight miles west of the present Grove Hill. The county's first courthouse was built on this site which served as the county seat from 1818 to 1832 and was known as Clarksville.

In 1832 an election was held in the county on whether to select a new site nearer the center of the county, then known as Center, afterward known as Grove Hill. Center won the election, and in 1832 Judge Coate held his first court at the present Grove Hill. The site has continued as county seat since then.

The earliest white settlers of Clarke were typical pioneers - they were looking for a site for their cabins - usually near a good spring or a small creek where they could clear a few acres of land for corn, pumpkins, and peas and where game and fish were abundant. These pioneers were fiercely independent. They owned no slaves and by their actions denied the native Indians any use of the land. Many of them had no titles to their cabins' sites; and as soon as the wealthy citizens from the East came into the county with slaves and their legal titles, the pioneers were forced to move westward to settle in Mississippi or Texas. A few fine homes built by these later settlers can still be found in the county. Their small number is indicative of the limited extent to which the plantation type of settlement occurred in this area in contrast to the area immediately to the north of the county.

The county was an immense forest covered with the best timber ever grown in this latitude, but there was no market for it, nor for anything except cotton. Thousands of acres of virgin forest were cleared away to make

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room for 10¢ cotton. Later, the 1820's and 1830's came in with their labor, and planters eagerly seized the best lands along the rivers. Slavery prospered as never before. The old saying, ". . . to clear more land . . . raise more cotton . . . to buy more niggers . . . ," was the slogan. This prevailed until the Civil War.

The first timbermen were "spar-getters." These men went into the forest and selected the choicest pines 100 feet tall, solid heart after the sap was removed, and manufactured spars right in the forest where they grew. These were the most skilled broadaxemen in the whole world. For the first 20 feet, for instance, the timbers were square; then for the next length corners were hewn, making them six-sided, and so on until the top was reached, making a beautiful piece of timber on which sails were fastened on the sailing vessel. These timbers were carried to Mobile and placed directly on ships from throughout the world.

Immense forests of cedar were also floated to Mobile where they were sold in a raw state. Later small sawmills came into Clarke, and log cabins of settlers soon changed to frame buildings. It was an exception if any building was painted, for two reasons - the frame buildings were made of heart pine from which paint would soon parch off and, too, paint was expensive.

While the forests represented a valuable resource on the land, there were some minerals underground which also have been found to be of value. Salt deposits in the county were exploited during the Civil War. Ochre used in the manufacture of paint was mined for a short period. More recently oil has been found in the West Bend area of the county.

The first railroad in the county was built in 1886. It followed the valley of Bassett's Creek from Jackson to Thomasville and revolutionized the industry along its route. During the next few years several large timber mills were established in the county and dealing in timber became a lively business. The mills provided farmers with a ready outlet for timber scattered as they were through the county. In addition to the smaller mills, there were large mills at Jackson, Glindon, Nicola, Whatley, Thomasville and Fulton. The county continues to produce significant amounts of timber.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE AREA

Size and Location

Clarke County is a predominantly rural area of 3,206 square kilometers in Southwest Alabama. Of its 26,724 population, 12,620 persons live in the communities of Jackson, Grove Hill, Thomasville, Fulton and Coffeeville. The total density rate of 8.3 persons per square kilometer does not accurately portray the sparsity of the area. For the rural area the density is about 4.5 persons per square kilometer.

The area is virtually surrounded by large marketing centers; Mobile and its large seaport is only 97 kilometers from Clarke County, with direct ac-

cess by rail, water, and highway. New Orleans, Birmingham, Montgomery, and Atlanta are all within 563 kilometers of the county.

Topography

Clarke County is bounded partially by the Alabama River on the east and by the Tombigbee River on the west. It is somewhat triangular in shape with a width of some 64 kilometers across the north end and extending southward about 97 kilometers to the junction point of the two rivers.

About 40 percent of the land is bottomland and adjacent terraces in the two river valleys and in the valleys of 40 or more creeks and their tributaries leading into the two rivers. The river terrace land contains the most productive farmland of the county which is scattered in small acreages of pasture and cropland. It is also high in timber production which is mostly hardwoods. The remaining 60 percent of the county is a series of valleys between ridges and plateaus. This upland area is well drained by the numerous streams that project into the interior from the rivers and is devoted to farming and pine tree production.

There is an abundant supply of surface water in all areas of the county and a dependable supply of water from shallow wells in most of the county. Most of the county is underlaid with an artesian stream at depths of 76-152 meters. Four city systems and many farms are supplied with deep wells into this artesian stream.

Soils

Soils are quite variable throughout Clarke County. The overflow land along the two streams has an accumulation of alluvial soil that is quite fertile and supports abundant hardwood production and on the open land, abundant production of pasture grasses, corn and soybeans. River terrace land is composed of heavy sand and clay loams underlaid with a clay subsoil which makes it dependable and productive when devoted to either crops, pastures, or timber. The great variation is among the ridges between the streams which range from the limy clay soils in a few small areas and the gummy clay soils across the northern fifth of the county through the sandy loams on the ridges going south, east and west into stream bottoms.

Climate

Clarke County has a mild climate with a 38-year monthly average mean temperature ranging from a July and August high of 27.1° Celsius to a December low of 10.3° Celsius. Annual rainfall is approximately 140 centimeters, which tends to be rather evenly spread through the year except for being somewhat lighter from September through November. There is sunshine on about two-thirds of the days from April through October and more than half the days in the rest of the year. The growing season averages 247 days in length ranging from 222 to 272 days between killing frosts.

Land Use

Forests occupy most of the land area in the county. Eighty-seven and one-half percent of the 794,240 acres in the county is covered by trees. The next largest use is cropland which occupies 5.3 percent of the land area. This is followed by pastures with 4.0 percent and cities and towns with slightly over 2 percent. Other land uses occupy less than 1 percent each and include water areas, roads, highways and industries.

It is anticipated that these percentages will change very little in the near future. The pulpwood-using industries in the area are well established and there is little likelihood that the demand for their products will diminish soon. The cropland that is in use represents the most productive soils in the county and it is unlikely that this area will expand. Marginal soils in most county farms have been planted to trees; and if change takes place, it will probably be due to the unprofitability of the small farms. This could result in more of a shift to pastureland and trees including a shift in ownership to the forest land companies.

POPULATION CHANGES

The total population of Clarke County in 1970 was 26,727. This figure shows a very slight increase over the 1950 figure of 26,548. The small change tends to mask some other changes that took place over these two decades. The racial composition, for example, shifted to a higher proportion white by 5.9 percent. There was also a significant shift toward greater urbanization of the population during the period rising from 11.6 percent in 1950 to 37.1 percent 20 years later.

Clarke County has persisted in having a relatively high proportion of its population in the younger age range for the period under study. While there was a small decrease in the percentage under 18 years of age, from 41.6 to 40.0, there was also a small increase in those over 64, from 8.3 percent to 10.4. As a result, the county experienced almost no change in the dependency ratio (see Table 2).

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1950

Clarke County shared with many other counties the sharp reduction in the number of employed persons engaged in agriculture between 1950 and 1970. The drop was from 31.2 percent to 1.5 percent of those employed. These was a slight decrease in the total number employed in spite of a small increase in total population. The industry groups which utilized larger proportions of the labor force at the end of this two-decade period were principally manufacturing and wholesale and retail trade. Manufacturing's percentage of the labor force grew from 30.2 percent in 1950 to 41.9 percent in 1970 to become clearly the predominant type of employment. Other industry groups had a much smaller increase in their percentages of the labor force employed including construction and public education.

The shift in the major industry of those employed is reflected to some ex-

tent in the changes in the proportions of the total income that came from various sources during this period. The percentage that came from wages and salary rose from 56 to 79 percent which might have been expected with the increase in employment in manufacturing. The reduction in those employed in agriculture might also lead one to expect the reduction in self-employment income which went from 29 percent to 6 percent of the total. What might not have been anticipated was the rise in the proportion of income coming from employment by the government, including employment in public education. The increase was from 8 percent in 1950 to 14 percent in 1970. Income attributable to unpaid family workers dropped precipitously from 7.6 to just one-half of 1 percent. This, too, is due largely to the sharp reduction in agricultural employment.

The skill levels of those employed also tended to go up during this two-decade period. The sharp reduction of those in farm related occupations would have shown up primarily in the laborers and operatives categories if there had been no change in skill levels. While there was some increase in the number of operatives, there was almost none in the number of laborers. In addition, there was a small decrease in the private household workers category. The increases were principally in the craftsmen, clerical, managerial and professional categories. The detailed figures are in Table 7.

HEALTH DEVELOPMENT

Many people live in areas that can fairly be classified as "medically deprived" in that services of physicians and other health professions are not available in proportion to health service needs.

Considerable study has been given to methods for alleviating this maldistribution of manpower. A number of methods to place more physicians or other health workers in deprived areas have been proposed or tried. These included forgiveness of student loans, payment of tuition, practice grants, tax exemptions or other financial inducements in return for service or a period of service in deprived areas. Also, community development of medical facilities and guarantees to physicians and special efforts to recruit medical and other health students from the deprived areas in question have been tried.

Although many of these methods had merit, they failed to produce any significant results. Having felt a need to secure additional medical personnel, a new approach was taken by one community's hospital board. Through the efforts of the hospital auxiliary and local citizens, a scholarship fund was established.

The auxiliary began their efforts to raise monies for doctors' scholarships with a set goal of $22,000. Support was solicited from 250 individuals and families requesting contributions or pledges. Publicity for the project was provided by the editor of the weekly community newspaper, who was most cooperative in his efforts on the auxiliary's behalf.

The next step was to contact other organizations and groups in the com-

munity asking their support in the form of fund raising projects. Those most generous in their efforts to raise money for contributions were the American Legion Auxiliary, the Civitan Club and the Lions Club.

The auxiliary also used profits from their money making projects to contribute to the fund. The auxiliary operates a small gift shop at the hospital and also rents televisions to hospital patients. Finally a means of giving memorial gifts to the scholarship fund was established.

In 1978 a survey was conducted in which local leaders were asked questions dealing with the development in the county. Among other things they were asked to indicate what they liked most about their county. The most frequent responses had to do with the quality of living in the county. Relationships and attitudes were second in frequency with an indication that the people made up one of the most important assets of the county. The physical setting was the third most frequently mentioned type of response including such features as the natural resources, recreational opportunities and the proximity to large cities.

In addition to being asked what they liked most about the county, each of the respondents was asked to name the three most important needs or problems of Clarke County, ranking these assessments in terms of importance. These responses were grouped into eight categories.

Health and social needs ranked first, the most frequent response being the need for more doctors in Clarke County. Economic needs came second. The need for more and diversified industry as well as qualified people for employment were the principal responses.

Transportation needs were the third most frequently mentioned. Although there are over 1,287 kilometers of county roads in Clarke County, less than half are paved and references to the need for paving were frequent.

Education ranked fourth with improved and additional schools as well as more monies being mentioned most often. Other problem areas mentioned included planning, zoning, government, community relations and recreation.

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PROFILE OF EAST FELICIANA PARISH ORGANIZATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

by Forrest A. Deseran and Robert Mullen*

HISTORY

East Feliciana Parish, established in 1824, was originally part of what was called the "West Florida Parishes." This was in the Mississippi Gulf Coast area first explored and colonized by Iberville and Bienville in the late 17th and early 18th centuries and considered to be within the French territory known as Louisiana. Following the French and Indian War in 1763, France was forced to cede its territory east of the Mississippi to England and that west of the Mississippi to Spain. During the American War for Independence, Spain was able to claim the "West Florida Parishes" from the British, although most of the settlers remained British. Spain divided the area into five districts, one of which was named District Feliciana, composing what is today East and West Feliciana. Although there is no certainty about the origins of the name, it is likely that it means "land of happiness."

A variety of settlers came into the area over the years lured by liberal land grants by the Spanish. The pattern of settlement in the area was initially from Thompson Creek to the eastward. The low flood area along the Amite River served as a barrier between the east and west settlers. Many settlers were from the Atlantic states, comprising largely Irish, Scotch, and English. A number of these settlers were aristocrats, bringing with them a heritage which has remained in evidence.

The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 resulted in tensions over the proper jurisdiction of the West Florida area. American claims that this area lay within the territory claimed by the purchase were weakened by the Spanish occupation in the region. In 1810, local settlers initiated a successful rebellion and established West Florida as an independent nation. President Monroe immediately recognized the rebellion and placed the region under the jurisdiction of the governor of the Louisiana territory.

The parish was formed in 1824 with a population of a little more than 5,000 persons. The following year five commissioners were elected and they selected Clinton as the parish seat (one account claims that the choice of this site was influenced by the pure spring water available in this area). The parish prospered up until the Civil War, with cotton growing being the major industry. By 1860 the population had grown to nearly triple its 1824 level with a variety of industries, including the manufacturing of sugar and molasses, carriages and buggies, and the production of cotton and other commodities. Railway transportation moved these goods down to the Mississippi River where they were shipped to New Orleans and other points.

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The towns of Jackson and Clinton became cultural and educational centers, while Port Hudson became the shipping center. Wealthy planter families established their townhouses in Clinton, many of which still stand.

Interestingly, a number of educational institutions were established giving the parish a reputation for being a center of education. The Clinton Female Academy was founded in 1832, and in 1850 in Clinton alone there existed three female seminaries and two private schools for boys. What is now Centenary College was founded in Jackson in 1825 and operated there until 1906. The Feliciana Female Institute was founded in 1859 and the Millwood Female Institute in 1866. Silliman Female Collegiate Institute, founded in 1852, operated in Clinton until 1932.

Following the Civil War, the local industry which was largely based upon the plantation system and slave labor declined drastically. However, the plantation system remained intact and by 1890 cotton production was once again thriving. In 1890 the population was estimated at nearly 18,000 with over 52,000 acres planted in cotton and 25,000 acres in corn. This productivity was once again curtailed in 1909 with the boll weevil infestation and never regained its prominence. The economic decline continued through the 1930's until diversified farming was introduced, along with dairying and cattle production.

Logging and sawmill operations provided a major source of income for residents during and immediately following World War II. Although the lumbering activity has leveled off, it remains an important local source of employment.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

East Feliciana Parish lies in the upland hill area, except for the southwestern tip which is located in the alluvial overflow of the Mississippi River. There are three major types of soils in the parish. The loessial hill-terrace and forested coastal plain soils cover 288,764 acres. There are approximately 1,200 acres of alluvial or bottomland soils found along the lower four miles of Thompson Creek as it empties into the Mississippi River.

Approximately 162,800 acres, or 56 percent, of the land area in East Feliciana Parish is commercial forest (estimated in 1975). The abundance of forests provides an environment for a variety of types of game and wildlife, including turkeys, quail, snipe, deer, rabbit, and, of course, fish.

Major mineral resources in the parish are sand and gravel. An active mining industry for these products exists along deposits on Thompson Creek, the western boundary of the parish, and the Amite River.

Demographic Sketch Since 1950

The estimated population of East Feliciana Parish in 1975 was 16,500, representing a major decline from the 1950 population of 19,133. Between 1970 and 1975 East Feliciana experienced a net out-migration of 10.9 per-

cent, the fourth largest out-migration of the 64 parishes in the state [Perez and Chang, 1977]. As shown in Table 1, the rural nonfarm population comprises a large percentage of the residents, many of whom commute to jobs in the Baton Rouge and New Orleans areas. Over half of the residents in 1970 were nonwhite (54.0 percent), a figure which has dropped from 1950. The shift in the age composition between 1950 and 1970 was increasing in numbers in the under 18 and over 64 categories, with a resulting increase in the dependency ratio (see Table 2).

The formal education of the population in East Feliciana Parish improved between 1950 and 1970, according to the census data. The median number of years of school completed by those over 24 rose from 6.2 to 8.3 while those with no formal education dropped from 14 percent to just over 6 percent. During this same period, the number who had some college training increased from 5.9 to 8.8 percent. The progress was not even, however, because the 1960 data recorded that 13.4 percent had had some college training. This suggests that there had been a substantial in-migration of better educated people in the 1950's followed by a reversal of the pattern in the 1960's.

Family incomes in East Feliciana Parish have been steadily rising since 1950. However, as indicated in Table 4, they have remained relatively low. In 1970, 44.7 percent of the families reported incomes of less than $5,000 and 33.6 percent of the families were considered to be below the census defined poverty level. On a per capita basis the income level had risen to $3,495 in 1975 which was still substantially below the state-wide average.

Male and female patterns of employment in the parish have differed according to census figures. Approximately half of the males were in the work force with their unemployment rising from 1.4 percent to 6.1 percent from 1950 to 1970. For females the labor force participation increased from 20 to 31 percent while unemployment rose from 1.0 percent to 6.9 percent during the same period.

Table 7 presents occupational categories of employed persons in this parish for 1950 and 1970. Service workers, except private household, comprised the largest category in 1970, accounting for slightly over one-fourth of all those employed. This category includes mostly women and reflects the large number of residents employed by local health institutions (see Table 8), specifically, the East Louisiana State Hospital for the mentally ill and Villa Feliciana Geriatric Hospital, both located in Jackson, which have the largest payrolls in the parish.

The next largest categories, 1) craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers, and 2) operatives, except transport, are comprised largely of males and relate mostly to the manufacturing and mining industry (Table 8). As mentioned, the lumber industry and sand and gravel operations are major economic activities in the area. Of the 12 manufacturing establishments located in East Feliciana Parish in 1972 (there had been 17 in 1960), seven produce lumber and wood products. Only one employed more than 19 per-

sons, and the total number employed in manufacturing was 200 [Census of Manufacturing].

Farm related occupations have shown a trend that is the reverse of most others. From 1950 to 1970 farmers and farm managers declined from 26.0 percent to 1.5 percent of those employed. This is by far the largest decline by any occupational group.

Recent Development Efforts

Much of the developmental change occurring since 1950 has been the consequence of factors outside the control of local decision makers. Changes in the structure of agriculture, for example, were due to technological advances and varying market conditions. Cotton, as a major crop, continued to decline in importance with the introduction of such new products as soybeans and dairy and beef cattle. Outside lumber interests controlled large segments of the commercial forests, with International Paper Company alone in 1960 owning or leasing about 12,000 acres (about 7.4 percent of the forested area). The state hospitals employed one of every four persons working in the parish in 1960. Perhaps most importantly, significant industrial growth along the Mississippi River from below New Orleans to Baton Rouge has provided employment opportunities for residents of the parish and has made East Feliciana an attractive residential location for industrial employees who prefer to live in a rural atmosphere.

Along with the external sources of development, local efforts have resulted in a variety of beneficial local changes. Local groups and leaders have been active in promoting a 50-acre industrial park between Jackson and Clinton with the intention of encouraging industrial development. Local minority leaders have been active in establishing programs for low income groups and developing recreational facilities. The police jury has been active in efforts to obtain a $200,000 federal grant to attract physicians to locate in the parish. A vocational technical school has been established at the Dixon Correctional Institute through the joint efforts of local groups.

Two programs, which provide the focus for much of this research, involve the recent establishment of an emergency medical rescue service and efforts to establish a major reservoir for the region. The emergency medical rescue service involved the cooperation of many individuals and organizations and is an on-going operation. The plans for a reservoir are still in process. Although local activities have been important in this project, federal funding sources have presented external constraints on its progress.

LOCAL PERCEPTIONS OF THE PARISH

According to interviews of a number of residents identified as "influentials" in the parish, who are probably not entirely representative to the total population, there are a number of features of the parish that are liked and a number not so well liked. On the positive side, the "rural atmosphere" with its connotation of mutual concern for the well-being of residents and

familiarity was most frequently mentioned and identified as most important. Other positive features included the ease of access to a metropolitan center, Baton Rouge, without its problems, and the culture of the parish as reflected in its historical heritage, family continuity and the quality of the leadership in the institutions of the government, schools and churches. Opportunities for outdoor recreation were also cited as a plus for the parish along with such features as job opportunities, natural resources and development potential, a low crime rate and good race relations.

On the problem side of the ledger there were three areas that stood out. These included life amenity services, economic development and institutional services.

In the life amenity area were included such services needing improvement as the quality of the roads, the solid waste disposal system, the sewer system, rural fire protection, rural police protection and rural gas and water service. The economic development problems had to do with attracting light industries to the parish and providing young people with jobs so they would not go elsewhere. Institutional service needs included school physical property improvement, as well as the upgrading of medical and recreational facilities. In addition, some need was expressed for zoning laws and for greater involvement of the residents in matters of local concern. This last reflects the feeling some have that the parish is simply a bedroom area serving Baton Rouge.

LOCAL INVOLVEMENT IN DECISION MAKING

Those interviewed were asked to specify the degree of their involvement in the general areas of decision making with respect to economic and health development and in regards to specific projects within each of these general areas. Two development projects were selected, based on the recommendations of key influentials. In the area of economic development the focus was upon local efforts to establish a major reservoir in the area, while in health development the focus was upon the establishment of a voluntary emergency medical rescue team. The proposed reservoir would improve flood control, provide industrial, agricultural, and residential water, and promote recreation for the area. The emergency rescue service was created to provide emergency service for residents in and around the Clinton area for whom no comparable service existed. Data were collected concerning the interactions among individuals and existing groups on the eventual outcomes of local development efforts.

Forty-three influentials were identified as being active in recent general economic decision making. Each of these individuals was in contact to some degree with 14.8 of the other identified persons, suggesting a relatively diffuse level of interaction. Thirty-five persons were identified as being active in the project; however, the average number of contacts per person was only 4.6. This indicates that the activity relative to this particular project, while including many persons, was concentrated among a few key actors.

Local activity regarding general health development involved 41 persons who contacted on an average 4.1 other persons. Thus, at the general level, health development tended to result in relatively low levels of interaction although including a relatively large number of people. The establishment of the medical emergency resource service included the actions of 29 persons who contacted an average of 5.4 other persons. This represents a substantial increase in the level of interaction over the more general area of health development. This finding is to be expected, given the more concrete nature of the project. Comparing the health and economic projects, it is evident that there was a more extensive local involvement in the establishment of the rescue service.

The influentials interviewed ranked each other according to degree of influence within each decision-making area. There was only a slight overlap between those ranked near the top in the economic and health related areas. This suggests that the influence structure of individuals in the parish tends to be organized along the lines of specific issues rather than having a small group providing leadership in most areas of concern in the parish.

The pattern of the rankings is consistent with information gained from open-ended interviews and observations made during the research. A few individuals are viewed as being key actors in the decision process across issues. However, individual interests and expertise relative to particular projects elevate others to high levels of influence as specific issues arise. The nature of local involvement becomes more clearly defined with a review of the role of local groups and organizations.

In Louisiana the police jury is the chief governing body in the parish and as such could be expected to wield a great deal of influence on matters of economic importance. According to the influentials interviewed in this study, the police jury served as virtually the only body concerned with the establishment of a proposed reservoir. Four other organizations were mentioned as having some influence, but they were clearly recognized as being peripheral to this decision-making process. These organizations included the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Lions Club, the Black Action Organization and the Clinton City Council.

It is possible that these other groups might have been seen as much more intimately involved if the development had been further along than in the proposal stage. Other groups might also have displayed a public interest in the matter. At the proposal stage, however, the police jury stands out as being the most influential body in the parish in making decisions concerning economic development.

In a different realm, that of the establishment of an organization to provide emergency rescue assistance, the police jury was not seen as the most influential of local organizations. In fact, it was ranked with the Clinton City Council well behind the Volunteer Fire Department. Still, it was well ahead of 11 other organizations also mentioned as having had some influence on the establishment of the emergency rescue assistance organiza-

tion. In addition to the groups already mentioned, as well as the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the Lions Club and the Black Action Organization listed above, influential groups included the Clinton Infirmary, the School Board, a C. B. club, the Chamber of Commerce, church organizations, the parish Welfare Department, the sheriff's office and the VFW.

Comparing the findings for the influence of individuals with findings for organization influence reveals an interesting difference. While more individuals were identified as being influential in economic matters than in health matters, significantly fewer organizations were associated with the economic area. As mentioned previously, this was undoubtedly influenced by the particular nature of the economic event studied. But beyond this, the difference may be a reflection of the perceived role of local organizations. The reservoir potentially would have a marked impact on residents of the area, an observation which was communicated by respondents in their interviews. The fact that the police jury was viewed as the only major influential local organization suggests that other local organizations were not considered as being effective vehicles for articulating the needs or desires of East Feliciana residents for events which transcend the local scene. The much broader range of perceived organizational influence on the emergency rescue service, on the other hand, suggests that East Feliciana Parish has the organizational resources capable of mobilizing local development projects.

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HANCOCK COUNTY, TENNESSEE

by Charles L. Cleland*

In the 1950's Hancock was classified as one of the 10 poorest counties in the United States. It remains one of the lowest of the low-income counties and the present report is intended to provide sufficient detail of the county situation to contribute to an understanding of why this condition persists and give some clues as to what policies or programs might help in changing this low-income status.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Before the white settlers came into the area, the territory which is now Hancock County was part of the area treated as hunting grounds by the Cherokee Indians. The first white settlement of record was in 1795 at a place called "Greasy Rock," the name coming from a group of flat rocks which the Indians had used for many years to clean and dress the animals killed in their hunting expeditions. That name persisted until the county was created in 1846 at which time the place was designated as the county seat and the name changed to Sneedville [Greene, pp. 4-6].

At the time of the first white settlement for which records exist, Cherokee Indians were living there but there were also some non-Indians of unknown origin. These people had dark skins similar to the Indians but lacked the features of the Indians. They also lived in rough cabins unlike the Indians and were apparently never molested by the Indians. When there were battles between the whites and the Indians, these people made it a point to remain strictly neutral. These dark skinned people are known as Melungeons. Their principal area of settlement was north of the Sneedville area over a very substantial ridge known as Newman's Ridge.

The war between the Northern and Southern parts of the United States in the 1860's provided the basis for some strained relations in the county which persist to the present. A small but very influential part of Hancock County's population in 1861 was sympathetic to the Confederacy; and when the state's position as a Southern state was declared, they attempted to get the county on record as supporting the state's position. The majority of the residents, however, were sympathetic to the North. The relative strength of the allegiance to the two sides was demonstrated when about 20 men in the courthouse were surrounded by more than 500 Union supporters threatening a showdown. If word had not been gotten quickly to Confederate regiments in nearby areas, the men in the courthouse would very probably have all been killed. As it turned out, there was no battle because the 500 quietly retreated when they learned that they in turn had been sur-

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rounded by more than 2,000 Confederate troops. The 20 men went off to join the Confederate Army, but there remained strong feelings between their families and others in the county.

Sometime after the larger war a small war within the county got started [Grohse, p. 8]. This was known as the Greene-Jones War and took place in the late 1880's and on into 1890. The feud reportedly started over a hog that got into some liquor mash due to the negligence of some of the Joneses who were taking their own hogs to market. The Jones relative who owned the mash decided to keep the Greene hog that got into the mash. Mr. Greene didn't think that was proper and then one incident led to another resulting in a number of deaths.

Since that time there have been no major conflicts within Hancock County. There have been some attempts at reducing the county's isolation such as the effort about 1918 to get an electric railroad line through the county. This effort failed because the project was deemed "not practical."

Failing to get a railroad built, the county turned to improvement of the highways. In 1926 the first gravel road was constructed. That effort has continued and most of the county roads are now paved. Access to the county is still not too easy, however.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

Hancock County is a nearly triangular area of approximately 147,200 acres or 596 square kilometers in the northeastern part of Tennessee with the long side of the triangle being the Tennessee state line on the north with the westernmost part of Virginia on the other side of the line. This is part of the ridge and valley area of the Tennessee Valley, with the county characterized as mostly steep ridges and narrow valleys.

The Clinch River runs from northeast to southwest through most of the length of the county. The Powell River cuts through the northwest corner of the county. Three ridges separate the two rivers with Newman's Ridge and Powell Mountain being the most impressive. Mulberry Gap in Powell Mountain facilitates access between those in the northwestern part of the county and the rest of the county. The road through Mulberry Gap continues as a very steep and twisting road over Newman's Ridge to Sneedville and the Clinch River. Clinch Mountain is part of the southern border of the county and contributes to making travel in a northwest-southeast direction difficult.

The rugged ridges provide some very scenic views which some have suggested could be exploited to attract more tourists. At the same time they tend to make for poor soils and very limited areas of soils suitable for crops. Even the forest production is small for large areas of the ridges.

The area is on the edge of coal fields, but there are no coal mines in the county. There is a zinc mine near the southern edge of the county which has not been operated for several years. There are small deposits of various minerals in the county including gold but none of any economic

significance.

Rainfall for the county averages slightly over 100 centimeters annually with the precipitation distributed fairly evenly through the year. The temperature ranges from a mean of 3° Celsius in January to 24° Celsius in July [*Tennessee Statistical Abstracts, 1974*, p. 308].

DEMOGRAPHIC SKETCH

In 1950 the population of Hancock County totaled 9,116. For more than two decades the county experienced enough out-migration to reduce the county population to 6,405 in 1974, a 30 percent decrease. There is some evidence that the long trend of migration has reversed and the county is experiencing some return migration (Table 1).

Sneedville, the county seat, is the only incorporated place in Hancock County. In 1970 its population was 874. There are indications that in 1978 it is over the 1,000 mark. Even so, the entire county population is classed as rural according to the census.

The age structure of the population of Hancock County for 1970 yields a dependency ratio of 64.3 (see Table 2). This is a relatively high value when compared with the state and the nation and indicates a relatively large number of dependent individuals relative to the number in the usual working age range.

The slight change in the dependency ratio masks a shift in the proportions under 15 years of age and those over 64. The under 15's were 27.9 percent of the total in 1970 compared with 36.4 percent two decades earlier. In 1950 those over 64 made up 6.9 percent of the total while in 1970 they accounted for 11.1 percent. This change in the age structure increased the median age from 22.2 to 29.9 in two decades.

Racial minorities account for a very small proportion of the population of Hancock County, and there has been little change in that proportion since 1950. According to the census, the proportion nonwhite is slightly over 1 percent.

In formal education the adult population of Hancock County lags behind the population in the remainder of the state and the nation. In 1950 they were 2.1 years behind the state average of 8.4 years. By 1970 the gap had grown to 2.6 years with the county still under the state median of two decades earlier.

In short, the county population has shown a recent reversal of the long-term pattern of out-migration, but it remains strictly rural. The proportion of the population that is young has decreased sharply while the proportion over 65 has increased very substantially. The racial composition remains almost exclusively white, but the Melungeon subgroup should be noted. Formal education has improved, but the county continues to lag behind the rest of the state.

Principal Sources and Levels of Income

Nearly two-thirds (62.8 percent) of the income for Hancock County families came from wages or salary in 1969 according to the census. A quarter of the income (24.3 percent) was from being self-employed; 5.4 percent from Social Security; and 3.8 percent from public assistance (Table 6). This pattern occurs in a county in which 55.5 percent of the families were considered to be in a poverty status and the 1969 median family income was $2,683 (Table 4).

According to the 1950 Census, the median income for families and unrelated individuals was $835 with 28.6 percent of them having incomes under $500 (Table 4). At that time 23.7 percent worked for salaries or wages including the 9.6 percent who worked for government. The self-employed accounted for 60.3 percent of the workers. The rest were unpaid family laborers (Table 5a).

Major Industry of Employment

The county experienced a dramatic shift from 1950 to 1970 in the distribution of workers by industry. Agriculture predominated in 1950 with 79.1 percent of those employed but by 1970 this had dropped to 22.1 percent of a work force only three-fifths as large.

Manufacturing made a dramatic shift in the other direction going from 2.1 percent in 1950 to 29.5 percent in 1970. Nearly half of those in this area of work in 1970 were engaged in making furniture or other wood products. Public education also increased in share of the work force during this period from 4.4 percent to 11.1 percent. Retail trade had a similar pattern going from 3.4 percent to 9.8 percent. Construction was constant at about 4.5 percent. Other areas accounted for not more than about 3.0 percent each (Table 8).

Major Occupational Group

The shift in occupational groups tends to parallel that of the major industry. Farmers and farm managers dropped from 57.1 percent in 1950 to 18.6 percent in 1970 while farm laborers went down to 3.2 percent from 22.0 percent. Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers jumped from 2.9 percent to 13.7 percent while operatives went from 2.8 percent to 21.2 percent. Workers in retail and wholesale trade went from 3.5 percent to 11.0 percent. Service workers increased from 1.0 percent to 7.4 percent and professional, technical and kindred from 4.5 percent to 11.9 percent. Managers, sales, clerical and nonfarm labor all showed increases over 1950 but their proportions of the total were small (Table 8).

Clearly there has been a revolutionary shift in the economic structure of Hancock County since 1950. What was once an almost strictly agricultural economy with a few people employed to provide the essential services of

construction, education, government and retail trade, has become based more on manufacturing with a much greater diversity of occupational types serving more specialized needs. While poverty is still a problem, the proportion of the county income that comes from public welfare programs appears to be quite small. (Another source estimates that transfer payments accounted for 17.7 percent of personal income in Hancock County in 1950 and 20.4 percent in 1962 [Corry and Price, 1964].)

LOCAL PERCEPTIONS OF COUNTY AT PRESENT

Statistics from secondary sources give a broad overall, impersonal view of the circumstances of the people in the county, but what the residents have to say about their county is more intimately revealing. A number of leaders in the county were interviewed in the summer of 1977 concerning a number of features of the county and the interaction of the leaders.

Local Leaders

Forty-three Hancock County leaders were identified and interviewed. As was anticipated, not all of those identified as influential in the decisions about the county resided in the county. One of those was the congressman representing the district whose home is in a neighboring county. Another was an administrator within the Tennessee Valley Authority. A third had his home in the county but was owner and operator of a coal mine in Virginia which occupied an inordinate amount of his time and attention.

Nearly all of the leaders identified who lived in the county were natives. Two exceptions were managers of local plants, one of which had opened just before the survey was made. Both were affiliated with larger organizations and appeared to have their first allegiance to those organizations. Some of the others had spent some time outside the county but had returned specifically to get involved in public affairs.

In addition to the congressman, the TVA administrator, the mine owner and the two plant managers, the leaders identified in this selection process included virtually all of the public officials elected on a county-wide basis, the two medical doctors in the county, the pharmacist and former mayor of Sneedville, a banker, a minister, a nurse (wife of one of the M.D.s) and a number of agency personnel as well as some older men and women who were still active in local affairs. Two members of the county court were also in this group.

Current Directions of Change

In the course of collecting specific data from the leaders, many observations were made about the current state of affairs. Until recently there has been virtually no rental housing in the county and some question about the need for such. Twenty-four units of rental housing were built in the "back valley" area of Sneedville and they have had a very high occupancy rate ever since. There had been dire predictions by some that said no one wanted

rental housing and the units would remain unoccupied. Some thought is now being given to the construction of additional units.

In this same "back valley" is located the second industrial park for the county. The first is a very small one with one plant which began the production of small electric motors. It is located to the northeast of the "downtown" area. In the new industrial park two substantial buildings have been constructed which house three manufacturing companies. One company is involved in making upholstered furniture. It employs about 25 people and is crowded for space. The other two businesses employ very small numbers in their production activities with four or five employees each at peak production. One is involved with silk screening designs on articles of clothing and spare tire covers. The other makes solid wood furniture.

There is a very active group of relatively young men in positions in the county government who are dedicated to doing what they can to make Hancock County a better place to live for all of the people who live there. This group came into office at about the time the county court was reapportioned and reduced in size from 30 to 18.

There is also a very strong resistance to raising the effective property tax rate which is presently quite low. The efforts to improve the situation are aimed primarily at sources of funding outside the county. Given the relatively small tax base, this is not entirely unreasonable, but it severely limits the county government in its efforts to resolve a number of the problems that have been identified by local citizens. An officer of the local bank expressed the opinion that he had seen the problems that went with having the attractions of the city; and if the county had very much money, it would just bring those problems to Hancock County. He opposed increasing the tax rate.

Nature of the Leadership Structure

Following the initial identification of the leaders, an alphabetized list was prepared with their names. This list was presented to each of the leaders in connection with questions about what contacts they had made personally about four matters: 1) economic development in general, 2) the establishment of an industrial park, 3) health related developments in general, and 4) the establishment of a county health department building separate from the hospital. Where the leader being interviewed indicated there was contact with someone on the list, an attempt was made to get an indication of who initiated the contact and how frequently during the year contacts took place. From these responses a matrix of who contacted whom and how frequently was developed. The description of the leadership structure that follows is largely based on this matrix.

In the area of decision making about county economic development, nine people can be identified who mentioned frequent contact with each other in connection with such decisions. All of these were either current occupants

of political offices or they had held office recently. The one exception was a banker. The group included the two wealthiest men in the county. There was a substantial age range with three estimated to be in their middle 30's and at least two in their late 60's or beyond.

These nine included the County Judge (the chief government administrative officer), the Clerk of the Circuit Court, the Mayor of the county seat town (also an M.D.), a city councilman (also owner of a coal mine), a pharmacist (and former mayor), a bank president, the Superintendent of Roads, the Superintendent of Schools, and the Congressman from the district. Four of these nine plus one other had been concerned about the lack of economic progress in the county before they got into public office. They had decided that the conservative older politicians were largely responsible for the stagnation and they committed themselves to seeking office. Part of the involvement included bringing suit to get the County Court reapportioned and to reduce the size of the court. This would cause each member to represent a more populous district and make each district more difficult to control through connections with family and friends. They were successful both in getting the reapportionment and themselves elected to office.

Convinced that the county did not have enough resources within it to bring about desired changes, this small group of five set out to tap every possible source to bring money in from outside the county. This meant working closely with state and federal agencies that had some jurisdiction in the area. They worked at becoming informed concerning the many programs for which the county or any part of it might be eligible. Their philosophy appeared to be that any project that would employ local people for even part of the year would bring money into the local economy regardless of the end product the project was supposed to provide.

At the same time, with 28 percent of the wage earners working outside the county, the need was seen for work opportunities within the county that would provide wages, minimize travel time and add to the tax base over the long term. The answer to this was seen in an industrial park which the county would develop and lease space to interested industries. There was no difficulty in locating interested tenants, but the results in terms of number of people employed have been much below expectations.

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A PROFILE OF HARDEE COUNTY, FLORIDA

by Lionel J. Beaulieu and Deborah S. Anderson*

THE HISTORY OF HARDEE COUNTY

The area presently identified as Hardee County has been part of five different counties. In 1822, it was part of Escambia County but became part of Dade County in 1836 when the decision was made by the civil government to create smaller civil units in Florida. By 1855, it had become a part of the newly created Manatee County. It remained a piece of this latter county until 1877 when DeSoto County was established. It was not until April, 1921, that a portion of DeSoto County was divided into the County of Hardee [Plowden, 1929]. It was named for Governor Cary Hardee who was in office at the time of the county's inception.

Although the Second Seminole War had ended in 1842, skirmishes continued between southbound settlers and Indians remaining in the area after the war. As a consequence, a number of military installations were built as early as 1849 in the area now known as Hardee County [Covington, 1961b]. Additional fortifications, including Fort Hartstuff and Fort Green, were established in the area in the 1850's as a result of the forced withdrawal (due to illness) of the federal troops who were located there [Miller and Schene, 1978]. Fort Hartstuff served as a haven for many settlers and developed into what is now the county seat of Hardee County, Wauchula.

Following the Third Seminole War and Civil War, a greater number of settlers began moving southward into unsettled portions of Florida. The Homestead Act of 1862 was also an important stimulus resulting in an influx of new families into the Hardee County area. Even in light of the new families and communities, progress in the area was slow until the arrival of railroads in the 1880's [Frisbie, 1974]. Towns grew as the railroad traversed new territory. A surge in land purchases for speculation, agriculture and settlements ensued.

With the new territory opened up by the railroads, farm products and land increased sharply in value. By 1905, DeSoto County (of which present day Hardee County was then part) produced one-tenth of the total value of farm crops in the entire State of Florida [Plowden, 1929, p. 25].

Development in Hardee County was influenced by the Wauchula Development Company and the Wauchula Manufacturing Company. The former sold pine timber to the latter company, which produced crates for vegetables and oranges. Plowden [1929, p. 37] notes that no single industry resulted in bringing in as many settlers as did these companies and much of the modern development of Hardee County could be traced to the stimulus

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provided by them. In fact, Wauchula Manufacturing Company advertised extensively in magazines and newspapers located in Northern states resulting in a large influx of settlers into Hardee County.

During the 1920's, Hardee County experienced an economic boom. Vegetables, citrus, and hogs were exported north by way of the railroads. With the large herds of cattle found in the county's open range, cattle became an important factor in the locality's economic health. Turpentine and lumber companies also evolved. It is clear that with the division of Hardee County from DeSoto County on April 21, 1921, more settlers came and a new surge of growth began.

TOPOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHY

Hardee County is located in south central Florida and encompasses an area of approximately 403,000 acres. Throughout the county may be found numerous areas of high, dry land interspersed with small swamps. More extensive wetlands are evident along the Peace River and its tributaries. Hardee County straddles the Peace River.

The soils in Hardee County are generally sandy and have poor drainage characteristics except in the higher areas of the county. Seven soil types are observable in the area, ranging from the sloping soils which are sandy due to excessive drainage, to the swamp association type soils which are poorly drained and subject to prolonged flooding.

The climate is temperate with an average annual temperature of 26° Celsius, an average low of 12° and an average high of 28°. Annual rainfall is approximately 147 centimeters with the heaviest amounts falling during June through August.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Hardee County's population growth was moderate during the 1950-60 time period (+22.8 percent). This pattern is in sharp contrast to the more substantial growth experienced by the State of Florida as a whole during the same span of time (+78.7 percent). While growth remained slow to moderate in the 10-year interval, 1960-70, population increases have been on the upswing in recent years. As of 1976, Hardee County had already experienced a population growth of 23 percent from the 1970 base period, a figure closely aligned with the state's growth pattern during the same period [Thompson].

A substantial part of the increase in the county's population between 1950 and 1970 was due to in-migration (44 percent) but natural increase was the principal source in contrast to the rest of the state. Since 1970 the net in-migration has exceeded the natural increase with 70 percent of the growth due to migration between 1970 and 1976 [Thompson]. Increases in citrus production and related processing activities have been influential factors spurring the in-migration.

The change in the distribution of the population between rural and urban

since 1950 has differed from that of the surrounding areas. The proportion of the county population that is rural has increased from 71.5 percent to 79.7 percent in 1970 while the rest of the state experienced the opposite trend during this period. The composition of the rural population changed sharply from predominantly farm in 1950 to predominately nonfarm in 1970 (Table 1). The racial composition has stayed close to 8 percent non-white and the age structure has changed very slightly with some increase in the proportion under 18 (Table 2).

ECONOMIC PROFILE

Historically, agriculture has dominated Hardee County's economy. Although agriculture employed a smaller portion of county residents in 1970 than in 1950 (35.5 percent to 47.2 percent), it clearly remained the principal industry in Hardee County (see Table 8).

Citrus production generates the greatest dollar volume in the county with cattle and truck crops serving as important secondary influences. Approximately 45,000 acres of citrus are in commercial groves; over 2,600 acres of truck crops are in harvest and beef cattle numbers some 65,000. The estimated gross dollar yields (in millions of dollars) from these major agricultural enterprises were citrus, $30.8; truck crops, $6.1; and cattle, $3.0 [Adley Associates, 1977].

The occupational characteristics of employed Hardee County residents are consistent with the industrial types as listed in Table 7. Approximately one-third of the working force in 1970 were farmers, farm managers, foremen or laborers. However, this does represent a decline of 12.7 percent from the 1950 figure. Proportions in the clerical, craftsmen, foremen, and service groups have increased over the 20-year period.

The median income for Hardee County families in 1969 was $5,792 (see Table 4). The 24.2 percent of all families in Hardee County living below poverty level in 1970 was nearly double the Florida figure of 12.7 percent. This represents a substantial increase in the proportion of families with very low incomes (under $500) in 1949. While the figures are not strictly comparable, the 10.5 percent who had such low incomes in the earlier period indicates that the problem was not as severe at that time.

Table 5 shows the four principal sources of income for employed people in Hardee County. The trend since 1950 has been toward an increase of wages and salaries as the primary source of income, from 50.8 percent in 1950 to 71.5 percent in 1970. Self-employment decreased at the same time from 30.2 percent to 12.6 percent in 1970.

As a general statement, it is clear that agriculture has historically performed and continues to perform an instrumental role in the economic growth of Hardee County. However, it will likely not represent the major growth factor in the future. Rather, phosphate mining is more likely to provide the major impetus to the county's growth activity. Eleven phosphate companies presently own or have options on nearly one-third of the land in

Hardee County. Within the next 10 to 15 years, phosphate mining is expected to become an integral part of the county's economy.

LOCAL LEADERSHIP'S PRESENT PERCEPTIONS OF HARDEE COUNTY

In July, 1977, 33 individuals identified as community leaders were interviewed as part of the S-120 Regional Project. A major portion of the interview was directed at discerning the county leadership's perceptions of the strengths and weaknesses of the county, that is, the nature of the county's attractions and shortcomings.

The selection of individuals as community leaders proceeded as follows:

1. Newspapers, minutes of county commissioners' meetings, and minutes of other relevant organization meetings were closely examined for the purpose of identifying persons providing leadership to the areas of development of interest to the regional research group (i.e., economic development, development of health related services and programs, and development of community facilities).
2. Once identified, these visible leaders were interviewed. In the discussions, each was asked to name other individuals with whom they were in contact and who contacted them in regard to the substantive areas under review.
3. Persons receiving multiple nominations as influentials by the visible leaders were subsequently interviewed.

Hardee County's Strengths

Each community leader was asked to indicate the three things he or she liked most about Hardee County. While this resulted in a wide variety of responses, four attributes of the county emerged consistently.

Relationships with or attitudes toward others is the most appreciated aspect of Hardee County. The leaders described this element as the friendly nature and cooperative spirit of the people. A typical response referenced the "accord among the local residents."

The second most liked characteristic was the rural atmosphere of the county. The quiet, rural environment, the slow-paced lifestyle, the religious attitudes and values make this county a good place to enjoy life, pursue goals, and raise children.

The pleasant environmental condition was also a much treasured quality reported by the leaders. The lack of pollution and traffic congestion combined with the beauty of the lakes and countryside make Hardee County an enjoyable place to live. In addition, the county's close proximity to metropolitan areas outside of the county provides it with the convenience to shopping facilities without the problems of urban living.

Respondents also considered the economic potential of the county as an important quality. The range of business opportunities, from citrus and ranching to industry, as well as the available labor force, make the county

amenable to moderate growth and development.

Hardee County's Needs

The 33 community leaders were also asked to indicate the three most important problems or needs confronting Hardee County. The need most often expressed had to do with the improvement of public services and facilities. In particular, improvement of county roads and highways were viewed as high priorities. Better sewage and sanitary facilities also emerged as pressing needs. Lastly, the need for quality education, that is, "an upgrading of the school system," was singled out. Several leaders associated this latter problem with the sizable migrant work force in the county who, given their transient way of life, paid few taxes but took advantage of the county's public school system.

The area ranking second in importance was the development of the economic potential of Hardee County. The need for both a year-round payroll and opportunities for the youth of the county highlighted the importance of persuading small, clean industries to locate in the area.

Recreation/entertainment and planning and zoning were identified as two additional needs of the community. With respect to the former, leaders felt that youth recreational facilities and cultural opportunities were seriously lacking in Hardee County. As for the latter, they felt that the haphazard, piecemeal residential zoning being practiced would be detrimental to the county's long-term development. Consequently, they strongly encouraged the establishment of a systematic planning and zoning effort.

A few of the leaders identified needs and problems of the county in the area of health-related facilities. This concern was expressed most often as a need for additional doctors. While county leaders indicated some satisfaction with the present health facilities, they strongly supported expansion of the facilities to lessen their dependence for health care on surrounding urban areas.

Finally, more and improved housing was cited by a few as an important need of Hardee County. These believe that better housing would enhance the county's ability to attract both industrial prospects and physicians.

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KERSHAW COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

by Stephen C. Lilley and Edward L. McLean*

HISTORY

Kershaw County was formed from the old Craven County in 1778. It was named after Colonel Joseph Kershaw, founder of the City of Camden and a leader in the revolutionary period. The habitation and history of the area is traced back 85 years earlier, however, when King George II ordered the establishment of 11 townships along the rivers of South Carolina. In 1773 the Royal Council employed St. Julian to lay out the "Town of Fredericksberg on the River Watery." St. Julian miscalculated, however, and laid out most of the city in the Wateree Swamp. For that reason few of the lots laid out by him were ever claimed. The settlers preferred the higher ground to the northeast.

Other than scattered planters and friendly Catawba Indians, there was no settlement of the area until 1750. That year a group of Quakers from Ireland settled west of the Wateree River, north of the current community of Lugoff. Some of the Quakers left the area before the Revolutionary War, but a number of their descendants live in the county today. The old Quaker Cemetery remains in Camden as a reminder of their settlement.

In 1758, Joseph Kershaw and his brothers built a store at Pine Tree Hill, east of the Wateree River. The store was at the junction of several major Indian trails and also near the river. Thus, it proved a natural place for trading. The store prospered and in 1768 Colonel Kershaw requested that the name of the trading post be called Camden in honor of a Lord in Parliament who championed colonial rights. Camden remains the seat of the county government.

The British built Cornwallis Castle south of the trading post, and during the Revolutionary War, it became the headquarters for the largest British garrison south of Yorktown, Virginia. By 1781 the British were losing the war and destroyed the fort before departing. Camden recovered quickly from the war due to a thriving flour production industry. By 1848 the railroad had arrived in Camden and the city's importance as a trade center declined. The area only saw battle twice during the Civil War but did serve as a treatment center for the wounded. In 1902 a small part of Kershaw County was annexed into Lee County.

A major source of influence in the county has been its equestrian activity. It began in 1802 and by 1816 the Camden Jockey Club was formed. The U.S. Equestrian Team trains there and the county is the home of two major steeplechase events, the Carolina Cup and the Colonial Cup. Several

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prestige stables are located in the area. Camden, in the past, was known as the location of winter homes for a number of wealthy northern families and several maintain more than one dwelling in Camden. The community now comprises many retirement residences of varying socioeconomic bases.

Camden and Kershaw County have been known to be at the forefront in implementing selected local government policy measures. Camden adopted a zoning ordinance in 1948 and the Kershaw County Council adopted a county-wide zoning ordinance in 1969. Kershaw County was the first county in South Carolina to initiate and implement a home rule form of county government, in contrast to the prevailing county delegation system.

Over the years Kershaw County has experienced diverse and steady economic growth. In 1975 it ranked fourth out of 46 counties for per capita personal income.

TOPOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHY

Kershaw County is located in the north central section of South Carolina, 51 kilometers from Columbia, the state capital. It contains 2,036 square kilometers or 503,040 acres. The northern part of the county contains part of the Piedmont Plateau. Here, the red clay hills have outcroppings of superior granite. The northeast half of the county is in the Sand Hills or Upper Pine Belt region, a part of the old Coastal Plains. The southern part of the county is in the river terrace or flood plain region. The rich alluvial soil of this section supported large plantations.

The county contains two main rivers, the Wateree in the west and the Lynches in the east. It has a mild climate with an average annual temperature of 17 degrees Celsius. The mean temperature in January is 8° Celsius; the average in July is 27° Celsius. It has an annual precipitation of 117 centimeters per year. Kershaw County has a long growing season, averaging 219 days. Its first killing frost occurs, on the average, on November 10. The last killing frost is, on the average, March 22. The elevation of Camden, the county seat, is 52 meters above sea level.

The county has varied recreational facilities. Goodale State Park is in Kershaw County, containing 2,300 acres and two lakes. The City of Camden itself also has a large park system with 178 acres of city parks. The county also contains over 338 kilometers of riding trails for horses. Lake Wateree, controlled by the Cresent Timber Company, a subsidiary of Duke Power Corporation, is located on the northwest border of the county.

DEMOGRAPHY AND ECONOMIC PROFILE

The County of Kershaw has experienced steady but slow growth over the past 40 years. In 1950 the county's population was 32,287 people. By 1970 it was 34,727. The period from 1950 to 1960 showed a gain of 4 percent, but the gain between 1960 and 1970 was smaller at 3.4 percent. This rate is expected to accelerate, however, with increasing residential development in the county. Two other factors are expected to speed up the growth rate for

the county. First is the continued growth of the Columbia metropolitan area. With the incorporated boundary of Columbia about 32 kilometers from the county, suburban development will probably link Camden and Columbia. With the recent completion of Interstate 20 through the southern portion of the county, this corridor will also speed development along its route from Columbia to Florence, South Carolina. A second factor is the stabilization of agriculture and forest products activity in the county. No longer is there a vast out-migration of farmers. Most of those who have remained in agriculture and forestry will continue to do so. Also, industrial development is occurring at an accelerated pace, thus providing expanded job opportunities and population growth.

It should be noted that while the data in Table 1 indicate a growth rate for the county, the next census will include the loss of 1,749 persons who, living in the northern end of the county, voted to be annexed into Lancaster County.

The population of the City of Camden has incrased more rapidly than the remainder of Kershaw County. Between 1910 and 1970, the population of Camden increased 139 percent and now accounts for about one-fourth of the county's population. Although Kershaw County has a substantial rural population, most workers living in rural areas work in nonfarm employment. In 1970 2.4 percent of the population lived on farms in Kershaw County, down from 45 percent in 1950.

The age structure of Kershaw County changed somewhat from 1950 to 1970 with the proportions of both younger (under 18) and older (over 64) persons getting smaller. This has tended to reduce the dependency ratio which is an indication of the number of people who must be supported by those in the usual working age range (Table 2).

The racial distribution of Kershaw County has also changed during these two decades with a reduction of the percent black from 49 percent (1950) to 32 percent (1970) (Table 1). There has also been a substantial change in the years of formal education completed by adult residents of Kershaw County. In 1950 the median was 7.0 years, but this had increased to 10.6 by 1970 (Table 3).

Economic Profile

The economic base of Kershaw County for 1976 is summarized in Tables 6 and 8. Manufacturing, government employment (including education), wholesale/retail trade, farming, and forestry are the leading economic base categories. Some of the wholesale/retail trade category includes agricultural input and marketing firms. This distribution of economic activity will probably be similar in the future with two exceptions. The wholesale/retail trade and services/miscellaneous categories will increase in importance as additional residential subdivisions are added in Kershaw County.

There are approximately 1,400 acres (as of 1977) in Kershaw County devoted to industrial land use. More than 1,000 of these acres are used by

the E. I. Dupont de Nemours Company and Union Carbide west of the Wateree River. Other large manufacturers are Kendall Mills in Bethune, Duke Power on Lake Wateree, the industrial complex along Dicey's Ford Road and the B. F. Goodrich Company in Elgin. The Cogsdill Tool Products Company, a Michigan based firm, has recently opened a plant, employing approximately 150 persons. The largest employer is Dupont with 3,200 employees. The company makes synthetic fibers. Other large employers are Skyline Manufacturing, a sportswear company with 580 employees, Hermitage Cotton Mills, and B. F. Goodrich with approximately 400 employees each.

While employment in manufacturing showed a slight loss in Kershaw County between 1970 and 1975, the county was not as severely affected as many others in the state by shortages of gas and the recession. In 1976, for example, the unemployment rate for the county stood at 6.7 percent.

Overall, the economy of the area can be characterized as viable and growing. With the increased access to Columbia via the interstate highway and the overall interest of industry in Southern relocation, the prospects for continued industrial growth in Kershaw County appear favorable.

LOCAL PERSPECTIVES ON COUNTY DEVELOPMENT

Development in Kershaw County has been stable and deliberate for nearly a decade. A comprehensive zoning ordinance was implemented in the county in 1969 and the result has been a long range planning approach to expansion and land use in the county. The perception of county leaders on zoning will be discussed below. Opinions about current development, based on recent history of the county, were obtained from seven interviews conducted in December, 1978. The following information is based on input from community influentials about their county's general development.

In the area of economic development, most influentials stated the location of small diverse industries in Kershaw would be the most desirable. One such plant, the Cogsdill Tool Plant, has located in the Lugoff area of the county. The tool plant employs 175 semiskilled workers and began operations in the summer of 1977. Other county developments include the building of a new shopping center in the Dusty Bend community and the current construction of a new high school. Due to county council's formation of a utilities commission in 1976, implementation of the county's water system is scheduled for completion by 1979. When complete, a pure water supply will be available along all paved roads, railroads, and residential neighborhoods.

In health care, Kershaw has made some recent progress and is planning for more. Recently the county obtained four new physicians and six new dentists. With the establishment of the Physicians Recruitment Committee it is hoped by community leaders that this trend will continue. Two major health projects are slated for the county. In the Bethune community, an existing motel has been purchased for the development of a health clinic. A

major expansion of the county's hospital in Camden is also underway. For improvements in emergency and admitting care, $3 million in expansions are planned. Despite this progress, those interviewed expressed concern in three areas: nursing homes for the aged, rural health outreach clinics, and services to those in poverty. Some leaders expressed frustration at being unable to get state and federal approval for these needs due to laws and bureaucratic guidelines.

The issue of land use has been a key one to community and county influentials. When discussing the present state of zoning and planning, there was great consistency among respondents. Most seemed to feel that the zoning ordinances were good but needed to be more strictly adhered to. There are only three land-use categories in the zoning ordinance: agricultural/residential, commercial and residential. It was noted that considerable variation exists within these categories. Efforts are currently underway to initiate building codes and residential subdivision regulations. These would be amendments to the county-wide planning and zoning ordinance. All respondents agreed that these measures should be adopted.

Most influentials agreed that development in Kershaw County should be systematic and economically beneficial. They expressed concern, therefore, for the mushrooming of residential subdivisions, convenience stores, and fast food restaurants developing along the corridors between Columbia and Camden. Many said they hoped the historical and environmental interests could exert their influence to control the architectural review process in the county. One leader characterized this sort of development as "sprawl and blight" and said, "perhaps these are needed, but they are aesthetic disasters." Thus, those interviewed wished to control construction that was "quick and cheap" in favor of more durable, architecturally interesting structures.

In general, county influentials felt positive about the future of their county. They found it progressive yet stable in its orientation toward development. They called the people of the area "friendly and ambitious" and cited the better than state average wages and diversified economic base as reasons for their developmental optimism. Most expressed caution about growth without control and voiced a preference for small and diversified industrial development. Most acknowledged a real concern for maintaining the aesthetic interests of the county, especially as represented by the historical, equestrian, and recreational groups in the area.

One influential came to the conclusion that Kershaw County could set an example for other areas. Said the respondent, "the United States should be like Kershaw County; stable, with steady growth, long range planning, enforced land use regulations, and good public services." As a result of this shared sentiment, the respondents expressed pride in the county's long-range planning and land-use regulation. All characterized Kershaw County as a "desirable place to live."

SPECIAL DEVELOPMENT ISSUE -- KERSHAW ZONING AND LAND USE

The issue of planning for growth and development is an important one for Kershaw County leaders. Since it is within 48 kilometers, by interstate highway, of Columbia, South Carolina, the impact of this rapidly industrializing capital city reverberates into the rural recesses of Kershaw County. Being farsighted about the need for planned expansion, community leaders began in the mid-1960's to develop a comprehensive zoning and land-use plan. It is this plan, approved in 1969, that was discussed with three respondents who were instrumental in its design and implementation.

In 1967, then State Senator John West spearheaded legislation to establish home rule in South Carolina counties. The reorganization changed each county's management system. Prior to home rule, state legislators from each county also governed the county. After home rule, each county determined by referendum which one of seven alternative types of county government it would have. Kershaw County was the first in the state to establish home rule in 1967 by instituting a county council/manager form of government.

John West, later to become governor of the state in 1970, was instrumental in encouraging county leaders to assess the need for a county-wide planning ordinance. Prior to 1967, growth in Kershaw County, especially around Camden, was chaotic, according to one respondent. Even prior to the implementation of home rule, Senator West appointed a three person committee to lay the groundwork for a plan. Senator West was helpful in getting a $20,000 federal grant to design a long-range land-use plan. The three men worked an average of 20 hours per week from October, 1966, until August, 1967, on the development of this plan.

From September until December, 1967, public hearings concerning the new zoning regulations were held. Though not required by law, county leaders felt public input was necessary if public acceptance was to be expected during the plan's implementation. After examining over 200 comprehensive plans and 100 zoning ordinances, the committee came up with two documents. One was a lengthy overall plan, the other was a legal, but general, ordinance. Both the plan and the ordinance were accepted first by the legislative delegation and, after the home rule implementation, by the newly elected county council. (The transition to home rule took place between September and December, 1967.) During 1968 and 1969, full implementation of the plan took place.

The plan divided county zoning into three categories: agricultural/residential, commercial, and industrial. The regulations are designed to control for population density, proper drainage, adequate highway access, and public utility use. Most respondents mentioned the importance of zoning to prohibit multiple land use within specified zones. The plan was designed to protect property owners and facilitate homogeneous growth patterns.

In the decade since its inception, various appeals, revisions, and adjustments have been made in the county's zoning regulations. While those interviewed seemed to feel the land-use plan has benefitted virtually all of Kershaw's inhabitants, there were some business and commercial interests who encountered problems initially. Some businesses had to apply for specific zoning types and faced the possibility of refusal of their application. One respondent stated that this affected only a few property holders and the detriment was called "short-term" when compared to the long-term benefits of land-use planning.

One major source of concern for county leaders now is the matter of flexibility with zoning regulations. Most respondents mentioned the importance of preserving the historic, aesthetic, and recreational characteristics of the county. The majority of respondents rank economic base and selective industrialization even higher, however. At times decisions concerning the zoning priorities for these two interests conflict. One respondent said that "allowing too much variation and multiple commercial land use" could inhibit implementation of county-wide zoning in the county. Two current concerns are subdivision regulations and county-wide building codes. These may be added to the county-wide planning ordinance. Those interviewed felt most concerns were manageable, however, and find that after 10 years their system of planning has, in fact, worked very well.

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LAWRENCE COUNTY, ARKANSAS

by Bert Gullett and Don Voth*

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

By an act of the legislature of the Missouri Territory, Lawrence County was formed from a part of New Madrid County on January 15, 1815. It was the second county created in what is now the State of Arkansas, Arkansas County being the first. Originally, Lawrence County embraced about two-thirds of the territory now in Arkansas north of the Arkansas River and also a strip of the southern part of Missouri, which was later given back to that state. Thirty-one other counties were formed from the territory originally included in Lawrence County, hence the appropriate name "Mother of Counties." Captain James Lawrence, who distinguished himself in the War of 1812, and who is reputed to have been author of the slogan "Don't give up the ship!" is the person for whom Lawrence County was named.

The original inhabitants of the area were the Osage Indians, who were described as being large, intelligent and peaceable. In 1810, the Osage were moved westward and for this reason the early white settlers of Lawrence County had very little contact with the Indians. Perhaps the removal of the Indians provided the impetus for the stream of settlers that followed.

Early Settlement

Lawrence County is comprised of two major topographical types. In the western half, a hilly, mostly wooded terrain predominates, while the eastern half of the county is composed almost entirely of flat and fertile bottomlands.

The western half of the county was settled before the eastern half for several reasons. First among these reasons was accessibility. Settlers came primarily from states directly east or southeast - Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. Most of those who traveled by land were required to take a rather circuitous route through Missouri, and ultimately traveled by boat on the White, Black, or Strawberry rivers to their destination, which was the western one-half of the county. No roads existed from these rivers east to the Mississippi. A second reason for the order of settlement was an abundant supply of pure, healthy water, which was thought to be lacking in the eastern half of the county.

Even today, a certain amount of lighthearted rivalry exists between residents of the two areas of the county. It is probable that this rivalry has some influence on local relations and power structures. Rapid settlement took place in Lawrence County during the years 1836-1861 (from Arkansas

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statehood to the beginning of the Civil War). At the beginning of this period, there was not a single town in the county - but statehood brought an influx of settlers from the states previously mentioned - Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. The creeks with their springs afforded good locations for settlement and soon every spring with good land adjacent to it had one or more homes near it. The whole county was well supplied with deer, turkeys, racoons, squirrels, and along the streams, beavers and otters. Bears, wolves, panthers, wildcats and even buffaloes were found in abundance.

With the coming of the Civil War and Reconstruction, progress and growth in Lawrence County all but ceased. This period was primarily a struggle for existence. Most of the able-bodied men answered the Confederate call to arms, and the business of making a living fell on the women and children and on the Negro slaves. No regular engagements occurred in Lawrence County. While Union troops passed through a few times foraging for food, no Confederate troops were there to oppose them. The only recorded action that resembled a battle occurred when two young men fired on a squad of Federal soldiers. They were in turn fired on by the soldiers and killed. When the war ended in 1865, the Lawrence County soldiers returned to farms and homes that, fortunately, had not been damaged in the course of the war.

In 1868, Lawrence County was reduced in size to its present limits, and the county seat was moved from Smithville to Clover Bend. In 1869 the county seat was moved to Powhatan, then an important port for the Black River steamboat trade. With the coming of the railroad, Walnut Ridge became important and a second county seat was established there to serve the eastern part of the county. The county was consolidated in 1963, and Walnut Ridge became the only county seat. The old courthouse at Powhatan has been partially restored and serves as a historical landmark and museum.

TOPOGRAPHY AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Lawrence County is located in northeast Arkansas and contains an area of approximately 1,533 square kilometers and a total land area of about 377,536 acres. The Black River traverses the county from northeast to southwest, dividing the county into two main areas. To the west of the river are located the hills and valleys of the Salem Plateau configuration, while to the east the Mississippi Alluvial Plain is the predominant physiographic region. This area is generally flat with local relief of less than 3.05 decameters. Soil types and configurations generally reflect the physiographic profile of the county with loessial hill soils predominating in the western section while bottomland and terrace soils predominate in the east. These bottomlands are level to gently undulating, and there is much wetland. Agricultural production in the eastern section is the main economic enterprise with cotton, rice, and soybeans being the principal

crops. Forest types are of two general classes, being divided into the upland hardwoods and the bottomland hardwoods. Again, a distinct dividing line is made by the course of the Black River as it meanders through the county. Mean annual precipitation in Lawrence County is about 117 centimeters with perhaps 61 centimeters being average between the months of April and September. Mean annual runoff varies from 40 to 50 centimeters in the county.

A relatively mild climate and an average growing season of about 200 days make Lawrence County well adapted to production of various agricultural crops. In addition to the production of the previously mentioned commodities of rice, soybeans, and cotton, the production of watermelons on a relatively small acreage makes a significant contribution to the economy of Lawrence County.

DEMOGRAPHIC SKETCH

The population of Lawrence County in 1970 was 16,320 persons. This represents a decrease of about 5.5 percent from the 1960 population of 17,267 and a decrease of over 30 percent from the 1950 population of 21,303. An estimated population in 1977 of 19,000 persons indicates a reversal of the trend for declining population after the 1970 Census was taken. If the 1977 population estimate of 19,000 is used, a population density of about 12.4 persons per square kilometer is obtained. By definition, Lawrence County is largely rural. In 1970, 12,520 persons, or about 77 percent of the total population, were classified as rural; and 3,800 persons, or about 23 percent of the population, were classified as urban. If the population of the twin cities of Walnut Ridge and Hoxie were combined, the urban population of the county would be approximately 37 percent of the total. A number of small communities located throughout the county comprise another 21 percent of the total population. The remaining 42 percent of the population is scattered throughout the rural areas of the county. In 1970, 6,031, or about 37 percent of the total population, were classified as youths between the ages of 0-20 years. About 48 percent of the total population was between 21-64 years of age; and 2,445, or 15 percent of the total population were 65 years of age or older. The 1970 median age was 33.2.

The racial composition of the county population in 1970 was virtually all white. Fewer than 200 nonwhites were counted as residents in that year.

The median number of years of school completed in Lawrence County was 8.7 years in 1970. Of the total population 25 years of age and over (9,442) 33.4 percent had completed less than eight years of education, and another 38.7 percent had completed the eighth grade but had not completed high school. At present there are seven high schools and eight elementary schools in Lawrence County. In addition, there is one special school for the physically and mentally handicapped. A privately supported college is located within commuting distance of the county. A vocational-technical school is located in an adjoining county.

MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1950

Lawrence County continues to be heavily dependent on the production of agricultural goods for its economic well-being. Cotton acreage has declined from about 20,000 acres in the early 1960's to less than 10,000 acres at the present time. Yields of cotton have dropped from a bale or more per acre 15 years ago to less than 400 pounds per acre. Increases in production costs and the difficulty of producing satisfactory yields have been the primary forces involved in reduced cotton acreage. Increases in acreages and production of rice, soybeans, and grain sorghum have tended to offset the reduced cotton production. Beef and swine production in Lawrence County are the other main agricultural enterprises. The market value of all agricultural products sold in Lawrence County in 1974 was $23,384,000 with an average per farm of $27,350.

In addition to agriculture, Lawrence County is home to a number of diversified industrial firms which contribute to the economic base of the area. At the present time, there are 18 industries in Lawrence County which employ a total of 1,208 persons.

Local efforts to bring about development include the endeavors of an active Chamber of Commerce in Walnut Ridge. In addition, a community resource development committee sponsored by the Lawrence County branch of the Arkansas Cooperative Extension Service has made contributions in this area. Several civic organizations are involved in development issues in Lawrence County. The county is fortunate in having a satisfactory industrial park located a few miles from the county seat of Walnut Ridge. This area, known as College City, is the location of several area industries. The present industrial park is on the site of a World War II Army airbase and was donated to the city of Walnut Ridge after the war. In addition to those organizations previously mentioned, a private development organization functions to attract industry to the area.

ECONOMIC PROFILE AND CHANGES SINCE 1950

The per capita income in Lawrence County in 1969 was $1,887. This figure compares with a per capita income of $2,142 for the State of Arkansas in the same year. The median family income in 1969 was $4,915. Of all the families in Lawrence County in 1970, 29.5 percent were classified as having incomes below the poverty level, and 39.0 percent of all the families had incomes within 125 percent of the low income level. In all, 5,406 of the total population of 16,320 fell below the low income level.

Underemployment and unemployment in Lawrence County is a continuing problem with the average unemployment rate from July, 1975, through July, 1976, being 10.7 percent. Most of the industries located in Lawrence County are relatively small with only three companies employing over 200 people. These three major industries are: Frolic Footwear (229), Lawrence Manufacturing Company (215), and SKIL Corporation (225).

Major occupational groups in Lawrence County in 1970 may be broken down to include the following: 19.1 percent of the employed population (total 5,009) were engaged in manufacturing industries, 35.7 percent were classified as white collar workers, and 13.7 percent were employed by government.

LOCAL PERCEPTIONS OF LAWRENCE COUNTY

During the summer of 1978, two interviewers from the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology at the University of Arkansas contacted 13 positional leaders to determine their perceptions of the leadership structure in Lawrence County. Each positional leader was asked to name as many persons as he/she could who were felt to be influential in the development of the county. Questions were also asked to determine which specific economic and health development issues had had the most impact on the county during the past five years. A total of 119 names of persons were listed by the positional leaders. This number was sharply reduced as the criterion of being nominated at least three times before inclusion on the final list was applied. In all, 26 persons who were felt to have influence were included in the final tally by the interviewers. Twenty-three of these persons were ultimately interviewed during the summer of 1978.

The specific economic development issue in Lawrence County turned out to be the location of a SKIL Corporation plant in the county. This plant currently employs over 200 people. Although this issue was borderline (in terms of inclusion in the S-120 project because it had occurred five years previously), it was still the economic development issue mentioned most often. The specific health issue which was determined to be of greatest import in the county was actually an on-going controversy over the quality of the county hospital, in terms of both care and facilities.

Generally speaking, the leaders interviewed in Lawrence County had favorable opinions regarding the development taking place in the county. When asked to indicate their specific ideas on what "development" is, most implied that steady economic growth as evidenced by the presence of more jobs was highly desirable. Almost all of the leaders also implied that economic growth was desirable only if it was controlled. To this end, suggestions were made concerning rates of industrial growth and types of industry that should be encouraged to locate in the county. Many of the leaders were concerned that a proper mix of industrial and social development should be achieved and maintained.

An awareness of the dependence of Lawrence County on agriculture as an important part of the economic base continues to influence the thinking of county leaders regarding development. This awareness is reflected in the directions of change in agricultural development of the county. One important development issue in Lawrence County concerns the drainage of wetlands and the subsequent channelization of these same lands for irrigation purposes.

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When asked to identify aspects of Lawrence County which were particularly appealing to them, many of the leaders indicated that the people of the county provided the greatest asset to the county - in terms of honesty, dependability, and sincerity. Others felt that the rural nature of the county, along with a lack of problems generally considered to be urban in nature, was an appealing facet of the county.

Problems identified by the leaders were generally more specific in nature than were the county's attractive aspects. Some problems mentioned with frequency included a lack of employment opportunities for residents, a lack of adequately maintained farm-to-market roads, better drainage of agricultural cropland, and perhaps most importantly, more effective mosquito control. The graduate students who conducted the interviewing in Lawrence County could attest to the existence of the mosquito problem. Although these and other problems were felt to have a negative impact on the quality of living in Lawrence County, most leaders were optimistic about development presently taking place in the county and about future development which would contribute to an improved quality of life for all the county's residents.

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LIBERTY COUNTY, GEORGIA

by H. Max Miller*

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

County Inception

Liberty County, Georgia, located on the coast in the southeast sector of the state, was created by the State Constitution of Georgia in 1777. It was developed from three parishes - St. John, St. James and St. Andrew; and it was named to commemorate the patriotism and ardent revolutionary sentiment of the people of Midway and its neighborhood, who from the passage of the Stamp Act became the most uncompromising champions of liberty [Knight, 1913, pp. 725-726].

The history of the white man in this area had its beginnings in England on March 30, 1630, when a colony of Congregationalists, living at Dorchester, moved to the outskirts of Boston, Massachusetts, to better enjoy religious and political freedom. They called their new home Dorchester after that which they had left. Finding the New England climate too severe, they sent scouts to the South to find another location. In 1695, the group, considerably enlarged in number, moved to a village outside of Charleston, South Carolina. Here they prospered, set up a church according to the teachings of their fathers, and became slaveholders. But there were two drawbacks: 1) the lack of enough land for their increasing numbers, and 2) the general unhealthiness of the area [Knight, 1913, pp. 726-727].

At about this time General Oglethorpe was trying to find settlers for South Georgia. Hearing of these people, he offered them 32,000 acres of land and in 1792 the Dorchesterites - 280 white people, 536 blacks - moved to a point halfway between the Altamaha and Ogeechee rivers, and they called their new location Midway [Morton, 1950, p. 2].

Midway and Medway seem to have been used almost interchangeably in early records. Perhaps the river was originally called Medway for the river of that name in England, but both river and community later became known as Midway [Vanstory, 1956, pp. 28-29].

Great rice plantations employing large numbers of blacks began to appear in Georgia following the downfall of producing silk. Slave labor was used to drain the marshlands and dig irrigation ditches for extensive cultivation of rice. Spacious plantations were developed by the band of puritans on the edge of a swamp between the great Ogeechee and the South Newport rivers [Suddeth, 1951].

The planters had their homes in Sunbury, where they had schools and all the privileges of cultured society. While there was much culture and privilege in one part of the county, there was another in which it was not to

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be found. In the pine woods rice could not be planted; and rice culture demanded such an outlay that when a man had nothing, or had very limited means, he went from the swamps to the pine-barrens and began to gather his flocks and herds about him. These two classes of citizens - the rice planter and the inland stock raiser - were widely separated and hardly knew each other. This statement is given, not so much in justification of one class or the other or of slavery as it there existed, as in explanation of its persistent hold upon the people of the region. Herein, then, lies the explanation of the growth of large holdings in Georgia before the Civil War: the abundance of land and the profitableness of the slavery-plantation plan of production.

Until the beginning of the Civil War there were three different dimensions of Southern life side by side in this county; but when it ended, there was but one. The elegance and culture disappeared and the blacks came back to their old homes, but the master did not. The rice fields were marshes again, the homes were deserted or burned and much of the land (particularly in the coastal section of the county) was obtained by blacks. The pine woods were brought into market by the building of the railways. Turpentine farms were opened, mills were set up and lands which had been considered worthless were found to be of real value. The culture of long cotton, sugarcane and upland rice gave profitable employment to these small farmers [Brooks, 1913, p. 128].

Major Changes Since Creation

It is known that the Civil War gave the economic organization of the state a tremendous shock; however, it is not well known that during and following the Civil War, teachers and workers from the American Missionary Association filtered south where they started hundreds of schools for freed men. In 1868 a primary school was opened at Goldings Grove (McIntosh Community) and was continued until 1879. In that year a new building was erected with funds furnished jointly by the American Missionary Association and the people of McIntosh and was named Dorchester Academy after the original colony of settlers [Morton, 1950, p. 3].

Schools developed. Blacks came into ownership of land. By 1880 they had acquired taxable titles to 24,322 acres of Liberty County's land with 392 proprietorships. In 1902, blacks owned 53,000 acres with 1,117 proprietors having an average of 47 acres. Liberty County, as one of the first centers of black landownership, may be explained as the logical outcome of the situation in the coastal region immediately after the Civil War. [Morton, 1950, p. 5].

It was in the midst of the chaotic condition following the war that blacks began to acquire tracts of lands. This brief history of landownership is important because it illustrates the time, place, and circumstance under which the black man began to get a grip on some of the land in Georgia, and especially Liberty County. It is also important because it has implications

for social and economic development that have persisted until the present.

Black people have owned land in this county since the emancipation of slaves. In the recent past and today they have been and still are selling their land to the "white man." The paper companies, which came during the early 20th century, have bought much of the land in the county; and with the coming of the paper companies, many residents saw a market in tree farming and a large proportion of land in the county is used for this purpose. However, based upon the writer's observations, blacks are not involved in tree farming to any significant degree.

TOPOGRAPHY AND PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

Liberty County is located directly on the coast of Georgia and is approximately equidistant from the population centers of Savannah and Brunswick, Georgia. The county covers an area of 1,321 square kilometers and is ranked 23rd in the state in actual size. The highest point in the county is 39 meters above sea level.

The county seat is Hinesville, and there are four other incorporated communities in the county. These are: Allenhurst, Flemington, Midway and Riceboro. Fort Stewart, a U.S. military base, contains 11,120 military personnel and is located in the northern portion of the county.

Due to its location on the Atlantic coast, the land in the eastern sector of the county tends to be swampy and marshy with flat sandy soil and abundant streams. Further inland the land is flat, less highly vegetated and is characterized by sandy and loam soil types. The principal streams running through the county are the Midway and Canoochee rivers.

DEMOGRAPHIC SKETCH

In 1970 Liberty County reached a population of 17,569 persons (Table 1). In 1960 the population of Liberty County was 14,847 persons while in 1950 the population total was only 8,444 persons. During the decade between 1950 to 1960 the population grew by over 6,000 persons for a percentage change of 71.6 percent. The total population increased by 21.3 percent during the decade from 1960 until 1970.

As indicated in Table 1, the percent of nonwhites in the total population has declined from 61.2 percent in 1950 to 35.0 percent in 1970. While the proportion of those under 18 years of age has declined from 1950 until 1970, the proportion of those 18-64 years of age has increased during the same period of time (Table 2). The percentage of the population classified 65 years of age and older constituted 6.6 percent of the population in 1950, 4.9 percent in 1960 and 4.6 percent in 1970. The median age for all groups in 1970 was 22.3 years.

The change in the racial composition during the decade of the 1960's was also accompanied by a slight increase in the median age for the total population. There was a substantial difference between the whites and the nonwhites (over 97 percent blacks) in the change in median age. For white males

there was no change with the median remaining at 22.7 years. For white females there was a decline of .7 of a year down to a median age of 22.2 years. For all nonwhites there was a substantial increase: up 1.7 years to 20.8 for the males and up 2.0 years to 21.4 for the females. In spite of the increases for nonwhites, their average age remains below that of the whites in the county.

Median age is influenced by patterns of births and deaths as well as by the movement of people into and out of the county. The figures for Liberty County suggest that migration patterns were primarily responsible for the median age changes mentioned above. There was a substantial net in-migration of whites during the 1960's accompanied by a smaller net out-migration of nonwhites. The average age of the white in-migrants was slightly lower than that of the existing white residents. For the nonwhites the average age of those who left the county was lower than that of those who remained. This had the effect of increasing the average for the nonwhites, especially the females.

The 1960's also saw a change in the sex ratio from 116 (males per 100 females) to 121. This change was due entirely to the increasing dominance of whites in the population for whom the sex ratio increased from 130 to 135 during the decade. For nonwhites the ratio remained a constant 99. The presence of Fort Stewart with its predominantly male population would explain part of the relatively high sex ratios seen in the county.

An even more dramatic change has taken place since 1950 in the shift away from a predominantly rural population. In 1950 none of the population was classified as urban even though nearly three-fourths were nonfarm (Table 1). By 1970 nearly half the population qualified as urban. There has continued to be some growth in this direction since then and the next census will show a dominance of urbanites. The reactivation of the military base has certainly had some impact on this trend.

Another area the military base has influenced is that of the average education of the citizens in the county. In 1950 the median years of school completed for those 25 years of age and over in the county was 5.3 years. By 1970, after the base was reactivated, the average had risen to 11.2 years with the males averaging half a year more and females slightly more than half a year less.

The dramatic changes in the characteristics of the population including total size, racial composition, median age, sex ratio and education can be attributed partly to the reopening of the military base. Even the increased urbanization can be partly attributed to that reopening although the shift away from agriculture was part of a national trend. The population outside Fort Stewart has also been undergoing some changes during this period, but such changes are difficult to see because of the masking effect of inclusion of the military personnel and their dependents.

MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1950

Liberty County has undergone rapid social and economic change since the period of the 1950's and until the present time. A number of factors involving broad system-wide and regional changes as well as local changes in the social and economic structure have precipitated these developments.

The general character of change in the United States and particularly in rural communities is too well known to require more than a reminder. As Robin Williams so aptly points out, "there has been a continuous growth of scientific and technological knowledge and of the knowledge and artifacts necessary to use knowledge in the control of environment" [Williams, 1964]. This author then reviews some well known, but basic, facts concerning changes in population, technology, economic and political organization and points out that "against the backdrop of these changes in technology and in the economy a certain consistency is apparent in a series of complex changes in major social institutions" [Williams, 1964, p. 4]. Williams then briefly sketches changes in major social institutions and draws generalized observations concerning the change of the system as a whole.

Many of the institutional changes elaborated by Williams have been evidenced in Liberty County and, it is proposed, can be evidenced in the present social structure of the county.

The population of Liberty County has increased over the past two decades and further increases are anticipated. New sections of Interstate Highway I-95 have been extended through the county linking the county to larger urban places to the north and south (Savannah and Brunswick, Georgia) and opening new vistas for mobility into and out of the county. Fort Stewart was reactivated during this period and has remained stable as a training base for reservists and other specialized military groups until the present.

Due in part to the reactivation of the base and the development of new industries (related to pulp and paper concerns), Hinesville, the county seat, has grown both in number of inhabitants and new services and facilities. Many newer services relating to health, education and welfare are available to county residents.

Local leadership structures have been quite instrumental in effecting development and change. Many "outsiders" who have been drawn to the county by corporate interests, professional interests and the military have become "activists" in community affairs and activities and have had a viable role in development for the county. Currently, such organizations as the Hospital Authority, the Hinesville Chamber of Commerce and other county and regional organizations such as the Area Planning and Development Commission have expended substantial efforts in facilitating change and bringing about development in the county.

ECONOMIC PROFILE AND CHANGES SINCE 1950

Reactivation of the military base shows up in statistics on employment in

the county in a number of ways. In Table 5 the change in the proportion who had income from various sources was dramatic between 1950 and 1960 and very slight between 1960 and 1970. The shift was away from self-employment, wages and salary to working for the government. Whereas in 1950 just a little over 10 percent of those employed had income from the government, by 1960 more than one-fourth enjoyed income from that source which was down only slightly in 1970. The base figures for these percentages increased in these two decades by 15.6 percent in the 1950's and 26.0 percent in the 1960's, so there was a substantial expansion of the labor force along with the shift in the sources of income.

The pattern of occupations of Liberty County workers also changed between 1950 and 1970. The greatest increases occurred in the percentage of those employed as clerical workers which went from under 4 to over 16 (Table 7). The craftsmen, foremen and such workers more than doubled their percentage from 6 to 13. This was also true of the service workers other than those employed in private households for whom the percentage went from 5.5 to 11.7. The pattern was very nearly the same for the professional and technical category of workers where the percentages jumped from 5.2 to 10.5. The percentage in sales work went from 3 to 5 percent, while for those considered to be managers or administrators it went from 8 to 9. The percentage in private household employment remained constant at 6 percent.

Some occupations experienced a decrease in the percentage of persons so employed. The sharpest drop occurred in the non-farm laborer category which went from 28.5 to 6.0 percent. The farmers and farm managers percentage also dropped going from 10.6 in 1950 to 3.3 in 1970. As might be expected, the number of farm laborers and foremen also dropped, but the decrease was not so great, 5.5 to 3.1. The one remaining category, that of operatives, had a decrease of only three-tenths of 1 percent to 15.3.

The employed persons may be looked at in terms of the nature of the industry in which they work as well as by the nature of the individual occupations. Table 8 contains the percentage distribution by industry group. The largest increase was in public administration which went from just under 4 to almost 13 percent. The Fort Stewart influence is evident.

Increases of approximately 6 percentage points occurred in the wholesale and retail trade (to 18.9 percent) and in personal services including entertainment and recreation (to 17.5 percent). This is a reflection of the increase in population and the complexity of the services needed by a nonagricultural population. The same explanation along with increases in state and federal social programs would go with the 3.1 percent increase in those in professional services other than medical doctors associated with hospitals and teachers in public schools.

Private education continued to account for a very small percentage of the total, but employment in nonpublic welfare and religious organizations increased enough to raise the category total by 1.8 points. Hospitals and

health services, public education and utilities and sanitary services all experienced some increases in total numbers of employees.

On the decreasing side of the picture, manufacturing dropped 17 percentage points to 18.5 percent of the total. Agriculture also experienced a drop from the 16.8 percent in 1950 to 8.5 percent in 1970. Fisheries were not listed separately in the 1970 Census, so what happened to that area is uncertain.

The big increases were in services, while the big decreases were in production of goods except there was little change in either mining or construction. This is consistent with the needs of a military installation in a relatively rural area.

LOCAL PERCEPTIONS OF COUNTY AT PRESENT

In Liberty County, Georgia, a sample of community leaders was interviewed. A combination of known methods for locating leaders in a community was used. By using a combination of various techniques, it is believed that the majority of leaders, both specialized and general, were tapped for interviewing. The first technique used for delineating leaders in Liberty County is called the *positional* approach. This method involved the preparation of a list of top positional leaders from available official documents. Included in the list for Liberty County were persons occupying top positions in the areas of government, business, industry, law, education, religion, civic organizations, recreation, welfare, health, labor and mass communication. A sample of the positional leaders was asked to nominate general and specified leaders to be added to the positional list of leaders. It was on the basis of this procedure that leadership structures were identified, and these were in turn interviewed regarding their perceptions of issues and problems relating to change and development in Liberty County. Generally, leader respondents tended to be older, were over-represented by whites and males and had generally higher occupational statuses.

The leadership structure in Liberty County appears presently to possess many attributes of a monolithic structure and tends toward a system of decision making with power concentrated in an informal clique comprised of a relatively small group of businessmen, professionals and corporate executives. Power tends to have one center of focus which is unifactional.

Respondents were asked questions regarding the quality of community services, opinions on special services, local needs and problems and leadership. When leaders were asked opinions on the most desirable speed of industrial growth and type of development desired, there was a consensus on the need for industrial and economic development. There was a concern, also, for higher paying and clean industries.

The relatively high overall rating of services, conditions and facilities is indicative that leaders have pride in and an awareness of their community and its needs.

Since there appears to be relatively strong consensus among the leaders

on needs and problems, what remains is for appropriate agencies to pursue certain needs, problems and issues. Additionally, it is important that citizens be given a vehicle for input into assessment and planning for their community. It should be pointed out that community efforts have a much higher chance of success when they involve the persons whom such action will affect.

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PART II

COUNTY COMPARISONS

C. L. Cleland

The individual case studies just preceding were intended to be descriptive of the situations of rural counties in the South in the late 1970's with emphasis on counties that were low income in 1950. The descriptions are too brief to do more than give a modest sketch of the county situations including the organization for making decisions concerning development. In this section limited comparisons will be made of the study counties based largely on statistical information obtained from publications of the Bureau of the Census. For purposes of organization the counties are grouped in this section according to classification as Persistent Low Income (PLI) or not (see page 2).

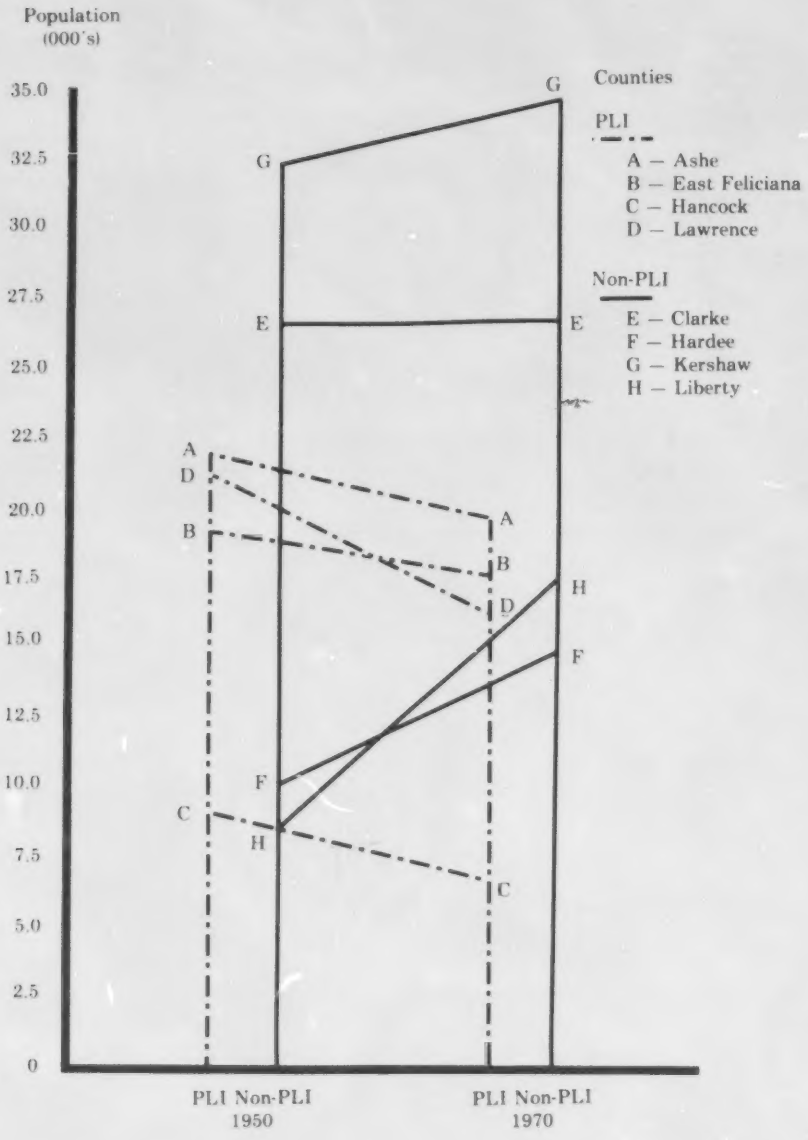
The first characteristic to be examined is that of total population. The counties included in this study were all relatively small with the largest just under 35,000 in 1970. They had varied experiences with population change between 1950 and 1970, however. As can be seen in Chart I, the PLI counties all experienced population declines, while all of the non-PLI counties experienced at least some growth. For two of the PLI counties the decline was severe, a 30 percent decrease, while for two of the non-PLI counties the increase was striking, more than double for one and 80 percent for the other. While the Census of 1980 may show a slightly different picture, a 20-year pattern of population change is indicative of the attractiveness of a county in providing opportunities for the satisfaction of the felt needs of the people living within its boundaries. Some of these opportunities may have been in the form of required assignment by one's own company, agency or the military. A more detailed look at the population shifts from year-to-year would doubtless be instructive, but such data are not available.

While changes in total population are of interest, such figures sometimes mask significant changes that have taken place. For example, the population that falls within the normal working age range of 15 (or 18) through 64 is the usual source of support for those outside this range either directly or indirectly. This is certainly the age range within which most of the working force is found. Changes in the absolute size of the population in this age range will provide some indication of the extent to which work opportunities exist in the local area or within commuting distance. Changes in the size relative to that in the rest of the population gives some indication of the support burden that the working age population has to bear.

The absolute increase in the working age population closely parallels that of the total population for the study counties. Again all of the PLI counties experienced a decrease, quite substantial for three of them, while all of the

Chart I

Population in Case Study Counties by PLI Classification, 1950 and 1970



non-PLI counties experienced at least some increase. For Lawrence and Hancock counties the decrease was particularly sharp with percentages of 22 and 21, respectively. Liberty with the military base had the very large increase, and Hardee without such an impetus also had a very respectable increase. The cause for Hardee's experience is not entirely clear, but the increase was almost equally due to natural increase (excess of births over deaths) and to in-migration.

The numbers in the work force are certainly important for industries in an area but so is the quality of that work force. One indication of the quality of the population in an area for work is the educational level of that population. The standard measure of the educational level of the people in a given area is the median number of years of school completed by those 25 years of age and over. The data for the counties on this measure for 1950 and 1970 are presented in Table 3 and Chart II.

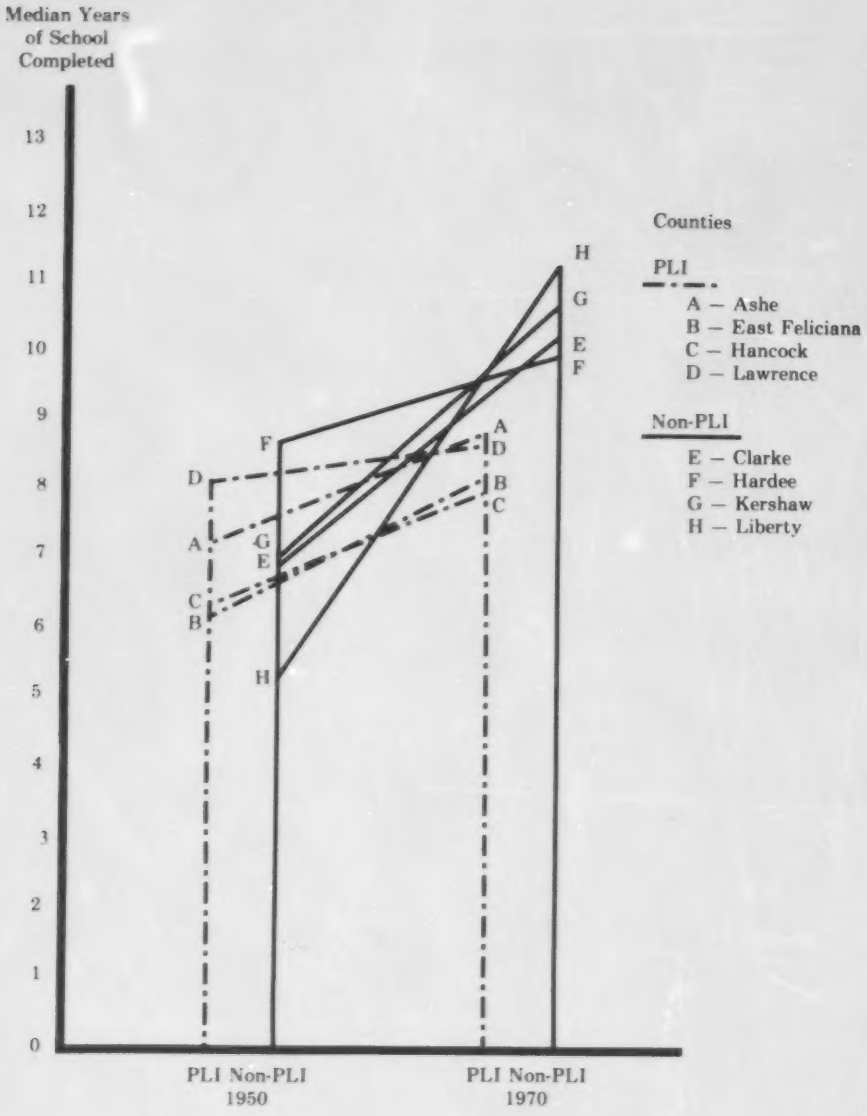
In 1950 the counties ranged from median educational levels of 5.3 to 8.6 years with no differentiation between the PLI and the non-PLI counties. Twenty years later the counties all show a substantial increase in the level of the median, but the PLI and non-PLI counties are now clearly distinguished by this indicator. More than a year separates the highest of the PLI counties from the lowest of the non-PLI. Clearly a tremendous change has taken place that reflects both the educational level of the immigrants and the emphasis placed on education by the local population. For Liberty County the very large change is attributable to the influx of personnel to populate the military base. These personnel had to have at least a high school education before they could be inducted, and there is a continuing emphasis on training during their period of service. The presence of such a population in the county undoubtedly had an influence on the resident population as well as giving the young people role models that they could emulate and parents in the military population putting pressure on the local school system to provide quality educational opportunities.

For the other non-PLI counties the basis for the large increase in the educational level is not clear. Kershaw has a generally progressive history, and this may simply represent a continuation of that history. Clarke's increased urbanization may be responsible for part of the change there, while Hardee's large number of in-migrants may represent a better educated population rather than any real shift in local emphasis on education.

The PLI counties did experience improvement in the level of education, but it may not have been as large as for the other counties because of the selective character of the migrants. With limited job opportunities locally, the better educated also had greater probabilities of finding satisfactory jobs elsewhere and took advantage of them. There may have been as much effort expended in these counties to improve the quality of the county educational program as in the non-PLI counties, but without other conditions being right, the effects on the continuing population were not what might have been hoped for.

Chart II

Median Years of School Completed by Adults in Case Study Counties by PLI Classification, 1950 and 1970



DEPENDENCY

Another indicator of the composition of the population that has been applied to the study counties is the Dependency Ratio. For this ratio the number of people in the county under 15 years of age is added to the number who are over 64, and the resulting sum is divided by the number of people who are between the ages of 14 and 65. This number is multiplied by 100 to give a figure that is relatively easy to talk about. While there are no goods or bads about the Dependency Ratio values, they do provide the means for comparison either between areas or between two different times for the same area. The ratio can be roughly interpreted as the number of dependents that 100 people in the working age range will need to support with their income. Table 2 contains the Dependency Ratios for the study counties for the years 1950, 1960 and 1970 as well as additional details on the age structure of the county populations.

There is no clear difference in the Dependency Ratios or their patterns of change between the counties based on the PLI classification. In 1950 the range was from 60 to 81 with high and low values in both groups of counties. As of 1970 the PLI counties were within a 10-point range (65 to 74), while the range for the non-PLI counties had increased from 16 to 25 points. The latter increase is due primarily to the experience of Liberty County with the military population which greatly expanded the number in the productive age range relative to the numbers older and younger. Kershaw also had a smaller ratio in 1970 than in 1950, and this occurred after an increase in 1960.

Examination of the data on the age structure in the rest of Table 2 can help to explain some of the shifts in the Dependency Ratio figures even though the cutting point in the table is at age 18 rather than the 15 used in computation of the ratio. First, there is a pattern of differences between the PLI and non-PLI counties with respect to the change in the proportion of the population that was over 64. For all of the PLI counties there was a sizable increase in the percentage while for the non-PLI counties there was either a small increase or some decrease. Since it was the PLI counties that lost population during this period, this suggests that those who did migrate were the younger people. The opposite is the case for the non-PLI counties where the population grew and the in-migrants were relatively young. For the other age brackets there was no consistent pattern. Liberty and Kershaw counties had substantial increases in the working age populations while Ashe and Hancock counties among the PLIs had smaller increases. East Feliciana had a substantial decrease, while the others experienced rather small changes.

INCOME PATTERNS

The eight counties included in this study were selected from among those in the region that were low income in 1950. In Table 4 the median family in-

comes reported in the censuses of 1950, 1960 and 1970 are presented. The figures are uncorrected for inflation, but the message they convey is rather clear. There was some variation among even these counties and Liberty stands out for the 1949 income which is more than double that of Hancock County, but they were still all quite low compared to the national average (median) of $3,083. There was some tendency for the PLI counties to be slightly more disadvantaged than the non-PLI even then, with only one of the latter having a lower median family income level than any of the PLI counties.

In 1959 there was no overlap between the PLI and non-PLI counties in median income although Clarke was only slightly above East Feliciana. The other non-PLI counties had made substantial improvement during the decade but were still below the national median of $5,660.

The pattern was rather similar in 1969 with all of the PLI counties having lower median family incomes than the non-PLI counties. With the national median at $9,794 the study counties were still quite low with the exception of Kershaw. Hancock maintained its extremely low position.

A little different way of looking at the income information is also contained in Table 4. The percentage of families with extremely low incomes is presented in terms of those with incomes of less than $500 in 1949 and as below the defined poverty level in 1969. There was some tendency for the PLI counties to be high on number with low income for the early period, but this was more marked in the 1969 data. The percentages for the two periods are changed only slightly for Kershaw, which was relatively low to begin with, and for Ashe which had been rather high. Increases of more than 10 percent occurred in Hancock, East Feliciana and Hardee, but Hardee had started with a very low 11 percent. Hancock stands out with more than half the families in poverty in 1969.

The amount of income available to families and the change between 1950 and 1970 provide a gross overview of the county situations. Some additional insight into the county situation is provided by examining the sources of that income and the changes in the importance of the various sources. In Table 5 (parts A, B and C) the people who had income are distributed in terms of the principal source of that income for 1950 and 1970. At the beginning of the period the PLI counties had higher percentages of residents who had most of their income from being self-employed or as an unpaid family worker. For the non-PLI counties the percentages were consistently higher in the wages and salary category, while there was little difference in the percentages reporting government as the principal source. By 1960 all of the counties had smaller percentages for the self-employed and the unpaid family worker categories and increases in the wages and salary and government except for Liberty which had a reduction in the percentage reporting wages and salary. The sharp increase for Liberty in the government category suggests the influence of the reactivated military base while a similar increase for East Feliciana presumably reflects the expansion of the

hospital operations.

The trends continued into 1970 with unpaid family workers virtually disappearing from the scene and the self-employed also being substantially reduced in all of the counties except Liberty which showed a slight increase. Liberty was also the exception in the area of the government as principal source of income. While all of the other counties show an increasing percentage, Liberty showed a slight decrease. It should be remembered that the number employed increased very sharply in Liberty during this decade; so, even with the drop in the percentage, there must have been a substantial increase in the numbers who had income from the government.

Another exception to the pattern is found in Ashe County where the percentage receiving wages and salary income was higher than for two of the non-PLI counties. This is really a reflection of the tendency of the PLI counties to be more like the non-PLI counties in 1970. This is just a tendency, however, because the PLI counties, with the exception of East Feliciana, continue to have higher proportions receiving their income principally from self-employment.

The preceding has dealt with the sources of income for those who are employed. Occasionally comment is heard about the extent to which the people who live in these poor counties depend on welfare payments from the government for their survival with suggestions that they may be abusing the intent of the programs under which they are being supported. Table 6 contains the distribution of all of the income received by families whatever the source for 1969. As one might expect, most of the income received in each of the counties came from salaries and wages. This tended to be lower in the PLI counties where self-employment income tended to be higher, except for East Feliciana. Social Security payments tended to be around 5 percent in the PLI counties and somewhat lower in the others. Where does that leave welfare payments? At around 1 percent for most of these counties with Hancock being the big exception with nearly 4 percent. Public assistance clearly does not rank as a principal source of support for the populations in these counties even though it is of great assistance for a few families and individuals. Other sources such as interest and retirement other than Social Security account for a much larger proportion of total income with the one exception of Hancock County.

OCCUPATIONAL LEVELS

Since 1950 there has been a very substantial exodus from agriculture in the entire nation. This exodus has also occurred in the study counties but to differing degrees. There has also been a increasing level of education since 1950, and this, too, should have had some impact on the level of the occupations held by the workers in these counties. The results of these influences can be seen in a comparison of the A and B parts of Table 7.

The general picture that can be seen in the table is that in 1950 the PLI

counties tended to have higher proportions of the workers involved in agriculture related employment (ranging from 40 percent to 79 percent) than was the case in the non-PLI counties (16 percent to 46 percent) but lower proportions in the operatives classification (3 to 11 percent compared to 11 to 20 percent). With smaller percentages in agriculture, the non-PLI counties generally had somewhat larger percentages of workers in all of the other skill categories.

The distributions in the B section of this table suggest that in 1970 individual county situations are more important than the PLI classification. There is virtually no pattern of differences in any of the levels of occupation contained in the table. The individual county profiles provided by the figures in the table are very suggestive of developments since 1950. In Ashe County more than one-third of the workers were classified as operatives. Aside from being somewhat low in proportions in professional and technical and the service categories, the county was not remarkably different from the other counties. In East Feliciana, another of the PLI counties, it was the service workers category that stood out (26 percent) along with a relatively large percentage of private household workers. This county is especially low in the sales workers, farmers and farm managers categories. Hancock County is high in the farmers and farm manager category and rather high in the professional and technical workers while being relatively low with respect to clerical workers and managers. Lawrence is distinctive in having virtually equal numbers in five of the occupational categories including those of farm operator, service, craftsman, clerical and professional categories. Being relatively high in sales workers and low in nonfarm laborers only adds to the uniqueness.

Among the non-PLI counties Clarke and Kershaw have very similar distributions except for a reversal of the professional and managers categories. Both have slightly more than a quarter of the work force in the operatives category, about one-sixth in the craftsmen, and eighth in the service workers (including private household), a tenth in the clerical and almost none in the farm related categories. Hardee is distinctive in having more than a quarter of its workers in the farm laborer category with another 5 percent considered to be farmers or farm managers. Liberty differs from the others in having a relatively high proportion of clerical and kindred workers and service workers without being especially low in any of the areas. Each has obviously been developing in its own way and capitalizing on qualities or resources which were already in existence at the beginning of the period.

INDUSTRY OF OCCUPATION

The distribution of the employed workers by the type of industry in which they were employed provides a slightly different way of trying to examine what has taken place in the study counties. In effect the figures in Table 8

(A and B) give quantitative substance to the descriptions already provided in the case studies. The figures have the advantage of permitting comparisons which are more precise than the qualitative descriptions will permit, but they lose the associated information that is conveyed when the name of a given company is used in depicting the county situation.

As with the levels of occupations, there are some differences between the counties grouped on the basis of the PLI classification for 1950. The PLI counties tend to be high in the percentages employed in agriculture and low in the personal services and manufacturing categories. Hardee is more like the PLI counties in these respects except for the wholesale and retail trade area for which it is extraordinarily high suggesting that it is more of a distribution center than the other counties. East Feliciana differs from the other PLI counties in being somewhat low in the percentage in agriculture and high in the manufacturing and hospital and health services areas, as might be expected. Other differences appear to be quite minor.

By 1970 there were some very substantial shifts in the patterns of industry of employment. All had participated in the shift away from agriculture. There was still some tendency for agriculture to loom larger for the PLI counties relative to the non-PLI counties, but there were two big exceptions to such a generalization. East Feliciana had a very small percentage, while Hardee had a comparatively large number still in agricultural employment. The PLI counties tended to have more employment in construction than the non-PLI. They also tended to have fewer in the areas of wholesale and retail trade and in personal services. Aside from that there were only some individual county distinctive features. Hardee County had a surprisingly small percentage involved in manufacturing and a relatively large percentage in mining (the phosphate companies). Liberty had a very large percentage in public administration (the military base). East Feliciana stands out in the high percentage employed in hospitals and health services as might be expected. Hancock is distinctive in the percentage in public education. All of the other counties are very even at close to 5 percent, while the Hancock value is a little more than double that. Lawrence is outstanding in the percentage employed in nonpublic education, welfare and religious organizations. Nothing in the case studies for either Hancock or Lawrence counties would have caused one to expect this difference. Combining employment in public and private education makes Hancock and Lawrence appear very similar (and different from the rest).

Place of Work

For one last bit of quantitative comparison the data in Table 9 contains the percentages of those employed in the study counties whose place of work was other than the county of residence in 1960 and 1970. The most striking feature of this table is the substantial increase in the percentages between these two dates for all of the counties except Liberty. Kershaw's was not large, but it was in the direction of an increase. The increase for the

PLI counties was generally larger than for the non-PLI with Hancock and Lawrence having similar large increases. Ashe was the only PLI county with an increase that did not exceed all of the non-PLI counties. The explanation for this is seen in the large increase Ashe experienced in employment in manufacturing.

CASE STUDY COMMENTARY

From the foregoing it is clear that there have been very substantial changes going on in those counties which were classified as low income in 1950. They have generally shared in the national trend away from employment in agriculture, and they have shared in the very substantial increase in income even though they still trail national averages substantially. Formal education had improved markedly, and the jobs held require higher skill levels. For most there has been an increase in the specialization of the types of jobs held due to the establishment or expansion of an industry or service. There has also been some reduction in the degree of isolation achieved through the construction or improvement of roads though some remain quite isolated. In spite of all the changes some of these counties have lost population suggesting that conditions are not what the local people wish they were.

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that much of what has happened in the study counties has been due to accidents of history and geography over which the present population has little control. At the same time in each of the counties there is clear evidence that some of the developments are the result of local initiative. There is also evidence that some of the major actions or decisions influencing county development took place outside the county in corporate offices, governmental agency offices and/or legislative chambers.

County boundaries are arbitrary lines set up primarily for ease of administration of the affairs of the people in a given geographic area. Unfortunately, perhaps, such boundaries were not always established with the physical features being enclosed in mind except as they made for easier governmental administration. Such physical features provide either opportunities or barriers (challenges?) to certain types of development which may not be absolute, but they do tend to set limits on that which is likely to be successful. Given the application of enough resources, virtually any physical barrier can be overcome. The resources available to the counties in this study have been extremely limited, however, so the barriers have tended to remain very formidable.

In most instances the physical barriers have not been as critical as the history of development that started with the first registration of ownership of the land. Those first efforts by developers (speculators?) to lay claim to the land set the stage for patterns of use and/or abuse that have tended to continue to the present. In Liberty County, Georgia, for example, the initial

settlement was promoted by one General Oglethorpe who laid out large plantation size units for the groups he was able to bring in. These units were based on slave labor for their economic viability, and the Civil War and the freeing of the slaves wrecked that structure. With the essential disappearance of the white slave holders and the entry of missionaries who set up schools for blacks, the opportunities for and inclination to landownership among blacks developed. They took advantage of the situation, and by the beginning of the twentieth century blacks owned approximately one-sixth of the area of the county in parcels that averaged approximately 50 acres each. While there has been concern about some loss of black ownership in recent years, the pattern would not have been as it was if the original settlement had been in small freeholdings rather than as large plantations.

In Hancock County the rugged terrain contributed to the isolation of the residents there, but the initial settlement by the Melungeons with their pacifist orientation tended to keep the physical barriers from being seriously challenged. An aggressive land speculator backed by a supportive community might have promoted establishment of an easier travel route through the county that could have competed with the one that came into being just over the mountain ridge to the south of the county. There was some effort to get a railroad through the county, but the dominant culture of the people that initially settled there could not support the kind of aggressiveness that might have been needed for success. It would have been too unsettling in spite of the obvious gains.

EXTERNAL DECISIONS

In addition to the accidents of history and geography that have affected the situations of the study counties, there has been the impact of agencies and organizations with broad interests making decisions outside the county borders. These decisions tend to be based on the benefit to the organization (or to the larger society in the case of agencies) rather than to any possible contribution to the residents of the immediate vicinity in which some facility is to be established. An example of such a decision over which local residents had very little control is that to construct a canal between the Tennessee and Tombigbee rivers to open a more direct channel to the Gulf from the Midwest. The interests pushing such a development were those commercial organizations who wanted to reduce the cost of shipping bulky products from the Upper Midwest to the Gulf of Mexico and the Corps of Engineers for which such a project would justify the continued employment of manpower resources already available. The people in Clarke County, Alabama, undoubtedly had an opportunity to express their interests and concerns at some public meetings held in the general area, but it is doubtful that they had a clear perception of the potential impact on all facets of their county's functioning.

Similarly, the decision to locate a state mental hospital in East Feliciana

was something that the local citizens had some influence on, but the final decision was made at a different level. Once again the feelings of the local citizens were more likely based on prejudices and rumors than on an accurate understanding of the potential impact of the development. In Liberty County the decision of the military to reactivate a base was probably influenced in only a minor way by local feelings on the matter. While some interest may have pushed for that action very hard believing it to be in their best interests, the final decision was made by the military hierarchy. This is a realm in which local interests would have to go through the political representatives of the area to have some significant impact on the upper echelons of the military decision-making machinery. At the same time they are in competition with other communities and counties that are vying for the placement of resources in their areas. They may all have input but none can claim responsibility for the final decision.

While positive decisions to do things affect these counties, decisions by outside agencies *not* to initiate projects can also have a significant impact. One of the projects supported by at least some of the people of Ashe County was the building of a dam across the New River. Had that dam been built, there would have been some shoreline on impounded water in the county. This in turn would have stimulated an increase in recreational activities and businesses in the county. There might also have been some industrial development which would have had economic as well as ecological affects. The decision was not to build the dam, and it was made by people who were not part of the local decision-making organization.

In addition to the location of large public facilities such as dams, decisions concerning the location of transportation facilities may favor or disfavor the residents of a county. Only two of the study counties have interstate highways through any part of them, for example. The most isolated of the counties in the study, Hancock, is getting a little assistance in the accessibility by highway through the expenditure of Appalachian Regional Commission funds. Even here the highways do not go through the county, only close by to the south and west. This is not to say that the roads within the county have not been greatly improved with the expenditure of state and federal funds in recent years because they have. It is just that the relative ease of access that has been provided to some areas has not been provided to most of the study counties to the same extent that it has to other areas of the Southern states. Part of the reason for deciding to spend highway funds the way they are spent has to do with political alignments.

The days of a single party dominating the politics of states in the South appear to have gone. The decision to favor or disfavor a given county or section of a state based on the support given to the party or faction in power is a long established pattern, however. Hancock County has been traditionally Republican in a state that has had a long period of domination by Democratic administrations. Kershaw County is at the other end of this pattern and has been conservative but supportive of the dominant political

group and so has tended to receive favorable treatment from state government. Each of the study counties has a distinctive pattern of relations with the larger state government that cannot be ignored if the pattern of development is to be fully understood.

Some influences from outside the county are not easily pinpointed. Federal policies dealing with landownership, taxation, transfer payments and farm price supports as well as some others all have their impact. There is no limit on the amount of land a given individual can own, for example. There are regulations concerning the manner in which a person can come into ownership and one individual cannot force another to sell ownership of the land to him or her. Even if one should gain control of a large amount of land, there would be some difficulty in transferring that ownership intact to the next generation due to inheritance laws and estate taxes. Price supports and transfer payments of other sorts have contributed to the relative stability of the existing social and economic structure and reduced the very large changes that might have occurred otherwise.

APPENDIX TABLES

1. Population, Total, Rural Farm and Nonfarm and Nonwhite (1950, 1970)
2. Age Structure (1950, 1960, 1970)
3. Median Years of School Completed (1950, 1970)
4. Median Income and Poverty Status (1950, 1970)
5. Sources of Income for Employed Persons (1950, 1960, 1970)
6. Distribution of Income by Source for Families (1969)
7. Occupations of Employed Persons (1950, 1970)
8. Industry Group of Employment (1950, 1970)
9. Percent Working Outside County of Residence (1960, 1970)

Table 1. Total Population, Percent Rural Farm, Rural Nonfarm and Nonwhite for Case Study Counties by PLI and Non-PLI Classification for 1950 and 1970

	PLI Counties[a]				Non-PLI Counties			
	Ashe, North Carolina	East Feliciana, Louisiana	Hancock, Tennessee	Lawrence, Arkansas	Clarke, Alabama	Hardee, Florida	Kershaw, South Carolina	Liberty, Georgia
Population								
1950	21,878	19,133	9,116	21,303	26,548	10,073	32,287	8,444
1970	19,571	17,657	6,719	16,320	26,724	14,889	34,727	17,569
Percent change 1950-1970	−11%	−8%	−26%	−23%	+1%	+48%	+8%	+108%
	percent							
Rural farm population								
1950	80.8%	42.8%	89.5%	56.2%	46.0%	44.1%	45.4%	28.4%
1970	33.2%	3.5%	65.4%	20.5%	2.8%	10.8%	2.4%	0.7%
Rural nonfarm population								
1950	19.2%	21.8%	10.5%	29.2%	42.5%	27.4%	33.0%	71.6%
1970	66.8%	69.9%	34.6%	56.8%	60.1%	68.9%	73.0%	50.6%
Nonwhite population								
1950	1.3%	58.2%	1.2%	1.3%	49.7%	7.4%	48.8%	61.2%
1970	1.1%	53.9%	1.3%	1.0%	43.8%	10.5%	32.0%	35.1%

[a]Persistent low income.

Source: 1950 Census of Population, Tables 41, 48, and 49. 1970 Census of Population, Tables 119, 134, 136 and 34.

Table 2. Age Structure and Dependency Ratio for Case Study Counties by PLI and Non-PLI Classification for 1950, 1960, and 1970

Age Group	PLI Counties				Non-PLI Counties			
	Ashe, North Carolina	East Feliciana, Louisiana	Hancock, Tennessee	Lawrence, Arkansas	Clarke, Alabama	Hardee, Florida	Kershaw, South Carolina	Liberty, Georgia
	percent							
Under 18								
1950	41.1	31.0	42.8	40.0	41.2	34.9	43.9	43.5
1960	38.1	31.5	40.5	37.0	42.5	37.1	44.7	41.4
1970	33.1	35.0	34.2	31.0	40.0	37.8	38.5	35.2
18 through 64								
1950	50.8	58.3	50.3	52.9	50.5	55.5	49.9	49.9
1960	51.7	56.6	50.8	51.1	47.6	52.6	48.1	53.7
1970	54.8	51.6	54.7	54.0	49.6	52.2	53.6	60.2
Over 64								
1950	8.1	10.7	6.9	7.1	8.3	9.6	6.2	6.6
1960	10.2	11.9	8.7	11.9	9.9	10.3	7.2	4.9
1970	12.1	13.4	11.1	15.0	10.4	10.0	7.8	4.6
Dependency Ratio[a]								
1950	75.7	59.7	76.4	70.6	77.3	65.8	78.6	81.4
1960	73.0	63.3	73.5	74.4	87.0	70.8	84.0	70.4
1970	64.5	72.4	64.3	67.0	78.1	71.2	64.4	52.8

[a]Population under 15 and over 64 divided by population from 15 through 64 multiplied by 100.

Source: Censuses of Population, 1950, Table 41; 1960, Table 27; 1970, Table 35.

Table 3. Median Years of School Completed for Those 25 and Over for Case Study Counties by PLI and Non-PLI Classification for 1950 and 1970

	PLI Counties				Non-PLI Counties			
	Ashe, North Carolina	East Feliciana, Louisiana	Hancock, Tennessee	Lawrence, Arkansas	Clarke, Alabama	Hardee, Florida	Kershaw, South Carolina	Liberty, Georgia
	percent							
Median years of school								
1950	7.2	6.2	6.3	8.1	6.9	8.6	7.0	5.3
1970	8.8	8.4	8.0	8.8	10.2	9.9	10.5	11.2

Source: 1950 Census of Population, Table 42. 1970 Census of Population, Table 120.

Table 4. Median Income for Families for Case Study Counties by PLI and Non-PLI Classification for 1950 and 1970 and Percentage of Families with Less Than Poverty Level Income, 1969, and Less Than $500 in 1979

	PLI Counties				Non-PLI Counties			
	Ashe, North Carolina	East Feliciana, Louisiana	Hancock, Tennessee	Lawrence, Arkansas	Clarke, Alabama	Hardee, Florida	Kershaw, South Carolina	Liberty, Georgia
	dollars							
Median family income								
1949	981	1,100	835	1,279	1,254	1,720	1,434	1,243
1959	2,296	2,749	1,442	2,255	2,766	3,602	3,538	3,379
1969	5,241	5,755	2,683	4,915	5,900	5,792	8,258	6,063
	percent							
Families with less than $500 income, 1949	26.9	20.5	28.6	19.4	25.6	10.5	20.2	17.1
Families with less than poverty level income, 1969[a]	27.8	33.6	55.5	29.4	29.8	24.2	18.8	25.8

[a]The poverty level is dependent upon a number of variables related to family situation as determined by the Bureau of the Census, 1970. The average poverty threshold for a nonfarm family of four headed by a male was $3,745.

Source: 1950 Census of Population, Table 45. 1960 Census of Population, Table 36. 1970 Census of Population, Table 124.

Table 5A. Sources of Income for Employed Persons in Case Study Counties by PLI and Non-PLI Classification for 1950

Source of Income	PLI Counties				Non-PLI Counties			
	Ashe, North Carolina	East Feliciana, Louisiana	Hancock, Tennessee	Lawrence, Arkansas	Clarke, Alabama	Hardee, Florida	Kershaw, South Carolina	Liberty, Georgia
	percent							
Wages and salary	31.0	43.4	14.1	46.7	55.7	50.8	61.2	67.7
Government	8.4	16.0	9.6	6.8	7.8	8.0	7.1	10.4
Self-employed	44.5	28.9	60.3	41.2	28.9	30.2	24.2	18.6
Unpaid family workers	16.0	11.7	16.0	5.2	7.6	10.9	7.5	3.4
Number employed	6,920	5,085	2,522	6,348	9,056	3,953	11,049	2,589

Source: 1950 Census of Population, Vol. II, Table 43.

Table 5B. Sources of Income for Employed Persons in Case Study Counties by PLI and Non-PLI Classification for 1960

Source of Income	PLI Counties				Non-PLI Counties			
	Ashe, North Carolina	East Feliciana, Louisiana	Hancock, Tennessee	Lawrence, Arkansas	Clarke, Alabama	Hardee, Florida	Kershaw, South Carolina	Liberty, Georgia
	percent							
Wages and salary	56.0	44.5	29.8	57.0	73.0	68.7	75.2	61.4
Government	9.2	35.4	10.7	9.8	10.7	9.7	11.2	26.9
Self-employed	31.7	16.2	54.4	30.9	15.5	19.2	12.0	10.7
Unpaid family workers	3.0	3.9	5.1	2.4	0.8	2.4	1.6	1.0
Number employed	6,185	4,453	1,997	4,872	7,358	4,438	10,983	2,992

Source: 1960 Census, Table 84.

Table 5C. Sources of Income for Employed Persons in Case Study Counties by PLI and Non-PLI Classification for 1970

Source of Income	PLI Counties				Non-PLI Counties			
	Ashe, North Carolina	East Feliciana, Louisiana	Hancock, Tennessee	Lawrence, Arkansas	Clarke, Alabama	Hardee, Florida	Kershaw, South Carolina	Liberty, Georgia
	percent							
Wages and salary	72.1	56.0	49.0	62.1	79.3	71.5	81.6	62.3
Government	10.1	37.1	23.3	13.7	14.4	14.6	12.5	25.9
Self-employed	16.3	6.4	27.1	22.7	5.9	12.6	5.7	11.4
Unpaid family workers	1.5	0.5	0.6	1.5	0.5	1.3	0.3	0.5
Number employed	7,096	4,419	1,574	5,009	8,349	5,496	13,486	3,770

Source: 1970 Census of Population, Table 121.

Table 6. Distribution of Income by Source for Families in Case Study Counties by PLI and Non-PLI Classification for 1969

Source of Income	PLI Counties				Non-PLI Counties			
	Ashe, North Carolina	East Feliciana, Louisiana	Hancock, Tennessee	Lawrence, Arkansas	Clarke, Alabama	Hardee, Florida	Kershaw, South Carolina	Liberty, Georgia
	percent							
Wages and salary	71.0	80.5	62.8	62.2	82.6	72.8	84.4	85.7
Nonfarm self-employed	12.6	6.0	11.2	10.8	6.0	9.1	7.1	5.4
Farm self-employed	6.4	1.5	13.1	11.5	0.6	7.3	0.3	1.2
Social Security	5.0	3.7	5.4	5.7	4.6	4.3	2.6	1.8
Public assistance	0.9	2.6	3.8	1.6	1.1	0.6	0.3	1.3
Other	4.2	5.7	3.7	8.2	5.0	5.8	5.2	4.6

Method: Mean family income was multiplied by the total number of families to arrive at a grand total of income for all families. This was considered the base figure for the distribution of the county income. The mean income for each source was multiplied by the number of families receiving income from that source. The sum of the income from the various sources closely approximated that obtained by multiplying the mean by the total number of families. The total from each source was then converted to a percentage of the grand total.

Source: 1970 Census of Population, Table 124.

Table 7A. Occupations of Employed Persons Age 14 and Over for Case Study Counties by PLI and Non-PLI Classification for 1950

Major Occupation	PLI Counties				Non-PLI Counties			
	Ashe, North Carolina	East Feliciana, Louisiana	Hancock, Tennessee	Lawrence, Arkansas	Clarke, Alabama	Hardee, Florida	Kershaw, South Carolina	Liberty, Georgia
	percent							
Professional, technical and kindred	4.0	4.3	4.5	5.6	5.2	4.5	5.8	5.2
Managers and administrators	4.6	4.1	2.1	6.2	5.9	7.7	4.9	8.1
Sales workers	2.8	2.1	0.8	4.7	4.6	5.7	4.7	3.1
Clerical and kindred workers	2.0	3.7	1.5	3.7	3.7	5.0	3.6	3.8
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred	6.3	6.6	2.9	7.7	8.4	7.4	10.4	6.2
Operatives, including transport	7.9	11.0	2.8	8.8	19.9	11.2	18.2	15.6
Laborers, except farm and mine	5.0	11.2	4.1	5.5	10.7	4.6	7.8	28.5

Table 7A (continued)

Major Occupation	PLI Counties				Non-PLI Counties			
	Ashe, North Carolina	East Feliciana, Louisiana	Hancock, Tennessee	Lawrence, Arkansas	Clarke, Alabama	Hardee, Florida	Kershaw, South Carolina	Liberty, Georgia
	percent							
Farmers and farm managers	38.2	25.9	57.1	32.3	21.8	20.4	18.3	10.6
Farm laborers and foremen	25.0	16.8	22.0	16.1	9.2	25.5	14.2	5.5
Service workers, excluding private household	2.1	8.3	1.0	4.6	3.5	4.5	4.4	5.5
Private household workers	1.1	4.4	0.1	1.2	5.8	2.5	6.5	6.0
Occupation not reported	1.1	1.6	1.1	3.7	1.2	1.0	1.2	1.9

Source: 1950 Census of Population, Table 43.

Table 7B. Occupations of Employed Persons Age 16 and Over for Case Study Counties by PLI and Non-PLI Classification for 1970

Major Occupation	PLI Counties				Non-PLI Counties			
	Ashe, North Carolina	East Feliciana, Louisiana	Hancock, Tennessee	Lawrence, Arkansas	Clarke, Alabama	Hardee, Florida	Kershaw, South Carolina	Liberty, Georgia
	percent							
Professional, technical and kindred	6.2	9.6	11.9	10.4	8.8	6.5	12.4	10.5
Managers and administrators	5.2	5.6	4.4	7.4	9.2	5.5	4.8	9.1
Sales workers	3.7	1.4	3.8	6.6	6.6	4.8	5.0	5.2
Clerical and kindred workers	6.8	7.2	5.9	11.2	9.1	11.2	10.3	16.5
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred	15.1	12.4	13.7	11.3	15.2	11.6	17.1	13.3
Operatives, including transport	38.7	16.7	21.2	19.0	26.2	14.4	28.8	15.3
Laborers, except farm	6.7	8.6	9.1	5.4	11.2	3.5	6.7	6.0

Table 7B (continued)

Major Occupation	PLI Counties				Non-PLI Counties			
	Ashe, North Carolina	East Feliciana, Louisiana	Hancock, Tennessee	Lawrence, Arkansas	Clarke, Alabama	Hardee, Florida	Kershaw, South Carolina	Liberty, Georgia
	percent							
Farmers and farm managers	8.8	1.5	18.6	11.1	0.5	5.2	0.6	3.3
Farm laborers and foremen	2.7	5.0	3.2	4.8	0.6	28.0	1.2	3.1
Service workers, excluding private household	4.9	25.5	7.4	11.7	8.3	6.8	8.7	11.7
Private household workers	1.2	6.5	0.7	0.9	4.2	2.6	4.5	6.0

Source: 1970 Census of Population, Table 122.

Table 8A. Industry Group of Employment for Employed Persons in Case Study Counties by PLI and Non-PLI Classification for 1950

Industry Group	PLI Counties				Non-PLI Counties			
	Ashe, North Carolina	East Feliciana, Louisiana	Hancock, Tennessee	Lawrence, Arkansas	Clarke, Alabama	Hardee, Florida	Kershaw, South Carolina	Liberty, Georgia
	percent							
Agriculture	63.2	43.1	79.1	49.1	31.2	47.0	32.9	16.8
Mining	0.3	1.9	0.5	0.1	0.3	1.3	0.1	0.1
Construction	5.9	4.0	4.6	5.8	4.9	4.9	10.0	4.5
Manufacturing	8.9	16.7	2.1	7.7	30.2	5.1	21.0	35.5
Transportation	1.1	1.8	0.6	3.2	2.1	2.0	1.5	2.5
Utilities and sanitary services	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.7	1.1	0.7	0.6
Wholesale trade plus other retail trade	8.2	5.9	3.6	12.5	11.2	19.4	11.2	12.9
Personal services, entertainment and recreation	3.9	8.6	1.4	6.9	10.3	9.2	13.1	11.7
Hospitals and health services	0.8	11.0	0.3	0.5	0.9	1.4	1.4	0.6

Table 8A (Continued)

Industry Group	PLI Counties				Non-PLI Counties			
	Ashe, North Carolina	East Feliciana, Louisiana	Hancock, Tennessee	Lawrence, Arkansas	Clarke, Alabama	Hardee, Florida	Kershaw, South Carolina	Liberty, Georgia
	percent							
Public education	3.1	2.2	4.4	3.5	3.5	3.0	3.2	3.2
Private education	0.1	0.1	0.2	1.9	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.3
Other professional and technical	0.5	0.5	0.0	1.3	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.7
Public administration	2.2	1.9	1.3	1.8	2.0	2.7	1.8	3.9
Industry not reported	1.2	1.4	1.3	4.0	1.2	1.4	1.4	2.1
Fisheries	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.2	4.2
Communication	0.1	0.5	0.0	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.2
Number employed	6,920	5,085	2,522	6,348	9,056	3,953	11,049	2,589

Source: 1950 Census of Population, Characteristics of the Population, Table 43.

Table 8B. Industry Group of Employment for Employed Persons in Case Study Counties by PLI and Non-PLI Classification for 1970

Industry Group	PLI Counties				Non-PLI Counties			
	Ashe, North Carolina	East Feliciana, Louisiana	Hancock, Tennessee	Lawrence, Arkansas	Clarke, Alabama	Hardee, Florida	Kershaw, South Carolina	Liberty, Georgia
	percent							
Agriculture	11.8	7.0	22.1	16.6	1.5	35.7	2.7	8.5
Mining	0.1	0.4	1.7	0.6	1.2	3.7	0.3	0.3
Construction	8.9	7.9	8.4	6.6	7.7	5.4	6.6	4.4
Manufacturing	46.4	19.3	29.5	19.1	41.9	9.1	47.4	18.5
Transportation	1.0	2.9	1.2	4.0	2.6	1.9	1.1	2.3
Utilities and sanitary services	0.5	2.2	0.2	1.2	1.9	2.3	1.2	2.2
Wholesale trade plus other retail trade	12.9	10.3	11.0	18.2	17.9	16.7	14.1	18.9
Personal services, entertainment and recreation	6.5	11.2	5.1	9.1	12.2	9.2	10.9	17.5
Hospitals and health services	2.1	24.9	1.3	4.5	2.4	4.6	3.1	2.3

Table 8B (continued)

Industry Group	PLI Counties				Non-PLI Counties			
	Ashe, North Carolina	East Feliciana, Louisiana	Hancock, Tennessee	Lawrence, Arkansas	Clarke, Alabama	Hardee, Florida	Kershaw, South Carolina	Liberty, Georgia
	percent							
Public education	4.7	5.0	11.1	5.9	5.2	5.3	5.2	4.7
Other education, welfare and religious organization	1.7	1.6	2.0	7.9	1.5	1.4	1.7	2.1
Other professional and technical	0.7	4.2	3.0	0.9	0.9	0.8	2.0	3.8
Public administration	1.7	2.8	3.2	4.1	2.7	2.6	3.1	12.7
Industry not reported								
Fisheries								
Communication	0.8	0.2	0.0	1.3	0.4	1.3	0.6	1.8
Number employed	7,096	4,419	1,574	5,009	8,349	5,496	13,486	3,770

Source: 1970 Census of Population, Table 123.

Table 9. Percent of Those Employed Working Outside County in Case Study Counties by PLI and Non-PLI Classification for 1960 and 1970

Year	PLI Counties				Non-PLI Counties			
	Ashe, North Carolina	East Feliciana, Louisiana	Hancock, Tennessee	Lawrence, Arkansas	Clarke, Alabama	Hardee, Florida	Kershaw, South Carolina	Liberty, Georgia
	percent							
1960	8.4	13.7	11.5	5.9	9.1	11.6	14.9	7.6
1970	16.2	23.0	28.2	20.3	18.4	18.3	18.2	2.2
Change 1960 to 1970	+ 7.8	+ 9.3	+ 16.7	+ 14.4	+ 9.3	+ 6.7	+ 3.3	− 5.4

Source: 1960 City-County Data Book, Table 82. 1970 City-County Data Book, Table 119.

Lawrence
Clarke
East Feliciana